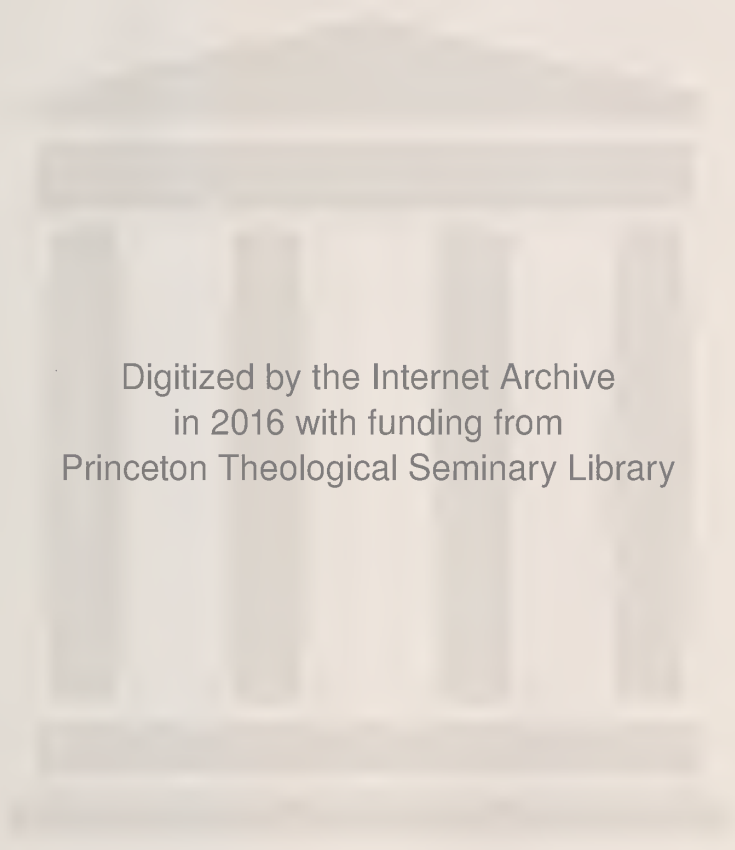


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THE MAKING OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.¹

The task assigned is a delightful and a simple one. It is to review briefly, and in bare outline, a story which, in its fulness, is as fascinating as it is familiar. The whole story could not be told. It leads us forward in thought to work not yet complete, for men will continue to produce English versions of the Bible; and as we look backward, we are led through the labors of translators and copyists and saints and apostles and prophets to the very mind of God its Author and its Source. The character of this occasion and the necessary limitations of time confine our review to that portion of the process which was accomplished by men of England and which culminated in the production of that version, which, for three hundred years, has been in reality the Bible of the English-speaking world.

The interest centres about three great names: John Wiclif, William Tyndale, and King James the First. Of course there are others which we must mention and which we should hold in grateful remembrance to-day.

We might allow ourselves the pleasure of rehearsing the story, familiar to us all from childhood, of Caedmon the untutored keeper of cattle at the Abbey of Whitby, who leaves the banquet hall, when the harp is being passed, because he cannot sing; but as he falls asleep in the stable

¹ An address at the Tercentenary Celebration of the Publication of the Authorized Version, Princeton, May 9, 1911.

he dreams that a heavenly messenger appears and bids him "sing the beginning of created things", and imparts to him a divine gift of sacred song; when he awakes he recalls what he has sung and finds that he is able to add to the verses; so that at the bidding of Hilda the Abbess he enters the Abbey as a monk and composes his famous paraphrases of Scripture, of the Old Testament narratives, and the stories of Christ and His apostles, the glories of heaven, the horrors of hell. Dim, indistinct through the mists of ages, we see him; his work was ended in A.D. 680; yet we can still hear his voice, first in the great chorus which has rendered in the language of England the inspired truths of God.

Or we might linger for a moment with Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, as in disguise of a minstrel he sits, with his harp, on the bridge. He has concluded that the average Englishman cares little for a sermon, and so he gathers a crowd by his playing, and then sings the message of his Lord. He was not the last nor the least successful of those who have sought to secure audiences by means of music, but he was probably the first to translate the Psalms into the Anglo-Saxon speech.

Then too we must mention the "Venerable" Bede, the most illustrious scholar of western Europe. Some of you have stood by his tomb in the superb lady-chapel at Durham; but all of us are turning in memory, at this hour, to the little cell in the monastery at Jarrow-on-Tyne. It is Ascension Day 735; the old monk is dying; between the farewells to his followers he is endeavoring to complete a translation of the Gospel of John, "For", as he said: "I do not want my boys (followers) to read a lie or work to no purpose, when I am gone." The sun is sinking as the last verse is reached; and then, "It is finished", cries the weeping scribe; "Yes, it is finished", replies his master, "and now lift me to the window where I have so often prayed"; and with the *gloria* upon his lips he breathes out his life. Worthy is he to be mentioned; and worthy to

stand at the head of the long line of translators of the English Bible; for in his learning, his piety and his devotion he is a true type of these illustrious men.

Then too we must name King Alfred, for he too is a type—a king, beloved as was David, teaching his people to sing in their own tongue the Psalms of David, and prefixing to the laws of England his own translation of the laws of God—truly prophetic of the influence the Word of God was to have upon the national life of English-speaking peoples.

We might pause to glance at Aelfric, at Bath, in the year 1000, translating the Gospels, or later, as Archbishop of Canterbury translating the historical sections of the Old Testament. In one of his homilies upon the Bible, he gives us the very message for this hour: "Whoever would be one with God must often pray and often read the Scriptures, for when we pray we speak to God, and when we read the Bible, God speaks to us. The whole of the Scriptures are written for our salvation, and by them we obtain a knowledge of the truth."

Or we might notice how, after the Conquest, when Anglo-Saxon has been replaced by Anglo-Norman, Orm, for example, is furnishing a metrical paraphrase of the Gospels and Acts, in 1215; while William of Shoreham, in 1320, and Richard Rolle, in 1340, are producing paraphrases of the Psalter. However, neither in the Anglo-Saxon period, nor in the Anglo-Norman, do we find the entire Bible in the vernacular; nor do we find it the purpose of the translators to give the Bible to the people but more usually to the clergy.

The glory of first furnishing the whole Bible, to the entire nation, in the English tongue, belongs to John Wiclif. This distinguished scholar, ardent patriot, devoted Christian, was unquestionably one of the greatest men of his age, or of any age. Educated at Oxford, receiving the highest University honors, serving as Master of Balliol, appointed chaplain to the king, he won national dis-

tion and popularity by defending the action of king and Parliament in refusing to send tribute to the Pope. Later, at Bruges, representing the king at a conference with the papal nuncio, he became more definitely aware of the corruption of the church, and returned to England with the belief that indulgences, pardons, transubstantiation, the worship of images, saints and relics, were all parts of a gigantic fraud, and that the only way to defeat the Pope and to reform the church would be by placing the Bible in the hands of the people. Amidst growing unpopularity, with his doctrines condemned by the church, himself under the ban of excommunication, he turned his whole attention to the task of translating the Bible from the Latin Vulgate into language which could be read and understood by the simplest peasant. Beginning with the Apocalypse and next translating the Gospels, he completed his work on the New Testament in 1380. Two years before his death, in 1382, assisted largely by his friend Nicholas of Hereford, he completed the translation of the whole Bible. This work was revised and harmonized by John Purvey in 1388. It was at once given a wide circulation. Even to-day there are in existence 170 manuscripts of this version, 30 being of the original work, and 140 of the revision by Purvey. Of course this translation was denounced by the papal authorities, and it was made a punishable offence to copy or even to read it; and yet Wiclif was allowed to die in peace in his quiet home at Lutterworth, where he had long served as parish priest. Some forty years later at the command of the pope his body was exhumed and burned, and the ashes cast into the Swift, the little stream which runs by Lutterworth to the Avon.

“The Avon to the Severn runs, the Severn to the Sea;
So Wiclif’s dust shall spread abroad, wide as the waters be”.

Thus popularly has been symbolized the limitless influence of Wiclif; and it would be difficult to overestimate that in-

fluence. He crystalized the dialects of England into a unified language. He made the Bible the palladium of civil and religious liberty for the English nation. He not only placed an indelible stamp upon all subsequent versions of the English Bible, but it is his essential and undying glory to have been the first, by a hundred years, to produce a translation of the whole Bible, not only in English but in any language of the European world.

It must be remembered here, however, that his work was a translation of the Latin Vulgate; it was therefore a translation of a translation. Necessarily, too, his work was circulated only by means of manuscript copies. The honor of producing a printed Bible, translated into English from the original languages, belongs to William Tyndale. It is to him the Authorized Version owes its character, its form, its style. This version is in reality merely a revision of the work of Tyndale. Its vocabulary is certainly his; less than 350 words used by him are omitted from this version. Peculiarly is the style his own in its unique tenderness and majesty, its simplicity and its grandeur. No one name should be held in higher honor at this hour, than that of this scholar, hero, martyr. Wiclif is rightly called "the Morning Star of the English Reformation", but it is due in large measure to William Tyndale that it obtained its glorious noon.

Only a century elapsed between the death of Wiclif, in 1384, and the birth of Tyndale, in 1484; yet in that time two events took place which made possible the character and wide influence of Tyndale's work. The first of these was the invention of printing. The Bible of Wiclif had to be copied by hand, laboriously, letter by letter. The production of a single manuscript often required nine months, and the expense of two hundred dollars. We know what it is to-day to have Bibles printed at the rate of one a minute, and to have Testaments sold for a penny each.

The second event was the revival of learning. As a result of the fall of Constantinople, in 1453, Greek scholars,

and manuscripts of the Bible, were scattered widely over Western Europe. The Old Testament in Hebrew was printed in 1488. Erasmus printed his New Testament in Greek in 1516. It has been familiarly said that "Greece rose from the grave with the New Testament in her right hand".

Thus with the Bible placed before him in the original languages, and with the printing press at his command, the time for Tyndale's work had come. And he was prepared for his task. His training at Oxford, his knowledge of the Hebrew and the Greek, his deep piety, his reverence for the Bible, all contributed to this preparation, but most important of all was his fixed determination to make the translation of the Bible into popular English the one goal and purpose of his life—a purpose expressed in the words, so often quoted, addressed to the papist who had declared that the laws of the pope were more necessary than the laws of God: "I defy the pope and all his laws; if God spare my life ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plow shall know more of the Scriptures than thou doest." In undertaking this work he finds little encouragement among his countrymen. Going to London, and receiving no welcome for himself or his project at the palace of Tunstall, Bishop of London, he is entertained for a time by Humphrey Monmouth; but soon concludes that there is no room to translate the New Testament "not only in the Lord of London's palace but not in all England." Therefore, in 1524, he goes into voluntary exile, and leaves the land of his birth, never to return. We find him at work in Hamburg, in Wittenberg, and in Cologne. When, in Cologne, he is about to print his first edition of the New Testament, his project is discovered, and he is compelled to flee to Worms with the printed sheets of the 3000 copies of this quarto edition. Here he issues an octavo edition of 3000 copies, and then the quarto edition. These copies reach England in 1526 and receive a ready sale, but meet with such violent opposition from the officers of the king

and the church that they are soon destroyed; only a fragment of a single copy of each edition now remains. But the work of translation has been done; England has a New Testament, accurately translated and in popular speech. Edition after edition is put forth, and in spite of opposition copies are scattered broadcast through the land.

Tyndale continues his toil, and in 1530 completes the translation of the Pentateuch. While still at work on the Old Testament he is betrayed and arrested at Antwerp, in 1535. For a year and a half he is imprisoned at Vilvorde, and October 6, 1536, is strangled and burned at the stake as a heretic. But his last prayer: "Lord open the King of England's eyes," is marvellously answered, in so far at least as it expressed the yearning of his soul for royal permission to publish the Bible in English, and thus for the permanence of the work for which he laid down his life. During the very year of his imprisonment, in October 1535, Miles Coverdale issued the first translation of the entire Bible in English—a translation however out of the Latin and German, not, like Tyndale's work, out of the Hebrew and Greek. The second edition of this Bible was printed in England, in 1537, and was the first Bible to be printed on English soil; no less memorable is the fact that it was "set forth with the King's most gracious license."

Then too, in that same year, the very year after the martyrdom of Tyndale, appeared the Bible of "Thomas Matthew", the real author of which was undoubtedly the heroic John Rogers, who himself suffered martyrdom in 1555. The content of this Bible was two thirds the work of Tyndale, and one-third of Coverdale; and yet the king who allowed Tyndale to be put to death for translating the Bible, now permits a Bible, practically Tyndale's own work, to be "printed with the royal license". This was actually the first "authorized version" of the English Bible.

The year 1539 is characterized by the publication, not only of "Taverner's Bible," the work of a lawyer, but by the production of the "Great Bible", which was named

from its size, fifteen by nine inches, and which, by royal proclamation, was ordered to be placed for public reading in every church in England; and this too in the third year after Tyndale's death.

Then, in 1560, when the English exiles in Geneva produced a Bible which has been named from the place of its publication, while the work was carefully done by scholars who had access to many other sources and versions, the work was in substance only a third revision of the Bible of Tyndale. The popularity of this Bible was very great. It was the Bible of the Puritans, and it was extracts from this version which were carried by the soldiers of Cromwell. It had but one formidable rival, the "Bishops Bible", published in 1569, by a number of Anglican clergymen, chiefly bishops. This too was a revision of the work of Tyndale; but while it was supported by the influence of the church, it was too inaccurate for scholars, and too expensive for the people. Thus, while the Roman Catholic translation of the Vulgate New Testament into English was made at Rheims in 1582, and was widely distributed, there were in England only two versions, the Geneva and the Bishops, contending for the supremacy, on the accession of King James.

Of this ruler, whose name is ever glorious because of its connection with the Word of God, it is neither possible nor desirable to speak at length. We need not be reminded of the fact that he was proud, pedantic, tyrannical; that the immorality of his court was only comparable to the imbecility of his government; that he was "the wisest fool in Christendom"; and that his learning was largely theological, illustrating the fact that theological erudition is no guarantee of morality or common sense; and yet with this, and much more, in mind, it must be frankly admitted that, to the encouragement, determination and personal influence of this same King James, we owe that superb version of the Bible, the production of which we celebrate to-day.

Of the details of the work we know but little, and with them we are not specially concerned. We remember that the suggestion of such a version was made to the King by Doctor Reynolds, at the famous, and otherwise futile, Hampton Court Conference, in January 1604. The suggestion gave the King an opportunity of displaying his theological and Biblical knowledge, and of declaring all versions of the Bible to be poor, and the Geneva Bible of the Puritans naturally "worst of all". The same year the King appointed fifty-four members of six committees, to meet, two at Westminster, two at Oxford, two at Cambridge. Forty-seven editors are known to have taken part in the work chiefly during the years 1608 to 1611. It was the task of great scholars, carefully accomplished: "We did not huddle it through in seventy-two days", they declared, "but spent twice seven times seventy-two". The work was done thoroughly, reverently, superbly, so that the result seems less like a translation from another language than like an original work.

Of this "Authorized Version" two things must be said: first, it was not a version, and second, it was never authorized. Instead of being a new version it was in reality a revision of the work of Tyndale; not more than four words in a hundred were altered. The phrase on the title page "translated from the original languages" is not to be taken too literally. It is true, these revisers drew from every possible source, and compared all existing versions; but the work of Tyndale shaped all that was done. As they declared: "We never thought from the beginning that we should need to make a new translation, nor yet to make a bad one a good one, but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones one principal good one, that hath been our mark".

Nor yet was this version ever authorized; it is true that it was published at the command and under the benediction of King James; but it was authorized by no act of Parliament or Convocation, of Privy Council, or of King. It

owed its primacy and its acceptance as the Bible of the English world solely to its intrinsic excellence and its surpassing merits; that is its glory and the proof of its worth.

As to-day we pause and call to mind the heroic and godly men by whose gifts and toil this particular version came into being, and as we shall further dwell upon its literary and spiritual influence, we should be impressed more deeply with the debt of gratitude we owe to those who so labored and suffered for us, and we should realize anew our responsibility to translate this divine book in terms of human need, and to transmute its teachings into character and life.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE ON ENGLISH LITERATURE¹

Two distinguished men of letters were recently invited in connection with the Tercentenary celebration in England to prepare papers on this subject, "The Influence of the English Bible on English Literature." Both declined, one giving as his reason that everything that could be said on the subject has been said; the other that it would take him at least twelve months to prepare anything worthy of the theme.

It was not, without hesitation, therefore, that I accepted the invitation of the Faculty two or three months ago fearing to adventure myself where the angels (or archangels) of literature fear to tread. But it is worth while sometimes if one cannot be original to repeat the best that has been said. At such a May festival as this everyone may bring his chaplet of flowers; even if they are very common flowers. Every lover of literature and of the English Bible should be ready to-day to utter his Jubilate, and join the general *Lobgesang*. Let us first of all offer our praises to Almighty God who has brought to pass this wonderful thing that by common consent the English Bible is now accounted the chief classic of our literature, as Mr. Froude says—"a literature in itself; the rarest and the richest in all departments of thought or imagination."

The supremacy of the English Bible does not need to be proved; but it is worth while to seek a clear understanding of what this means and how wonderful is the process by which it has come to its throne of power.

As to the fact, it is hardly necessary to cite authorities, for the authorities all agree—the most illustrious and yet the most unlike; not only those whose professional life is bound

¹ Delivered (in substance) at the Tercentenary Celebration, Princeton Theological Seminary, May 9, 1911.

up with it, but others quite as much: Hallam, for instance—in a sentence—"Its style, the perfection of our English language"; Lord Macaulay that "if everything else in our language should perish, this book alone would suffice to show the whole extent of its beauty and power"; Professor Huxley that "for three centuries this book has been woven into all that is best and noblest in English history" being "written in the noblest and purest English"; J. R. Green that it is "the noblest example of the English tongue" "from the instant of its appearance the standard of our language"; the Roman Catholic Faber that it is "God's greatest gift to the many millions of Britons and Americans", the "felicities of which often seem to be almost things rather than words."

Time would fail us to tell of Carlyle and Coleridge and Walter Scott and Ruskin and among the last Mr. Watts Dunton who speaks of the "great style" characteristic of the Bible; nor is it necessary. Perhaps Professor Saintsbury of Oxford, great among living authorities, may speak for them all when he says "It is unnecessary to praise the Authorized Version of the English Bible—because of the mastery which its language has attained over the whole course of English literature."

Professor Phelps of Yale, charmed and amused us all in New York at the Tercentenary Celebration by adopting the phrase of the moment,—“The English Bible,” he said, “is simply the whole thing.”

We are within bounds then if we say that, in a true sense of the word, English literature as a whole is a Biblical literature or, if you please, a Biblicised literature. There is but one sun in the firmament, though there may be a moon (or moons) and galaxies of stars. Milton, Shakespeare, the early dramatists, the Lake poets, the Victorian writers, the great historians, the great essayists, the masters of narrative fiction,—none outshine the sun; none can shine without the sun. Periods of comparative obscurity there may be, but the system as a whole is Copernican and not Ptolemaic. At nearly the same time

when Galileo was battling for the central place of the sun in the physical heavens, the English Bible was coming to its place in the literary firmament. Now and again some brilliant meteoric genius may seek to break loose disdaining the general law; but such are wandering stars and their fate we know. No one has yet arisen great enough to reject the primacy of the English Bible with any hope of literary immortality. This being the fact the next question naturally is, How has all this come about? By what conspiracy of benign influence, more powerful than the sweet influence of Pleiades? The answer to such a question would fill a volume and I can only hint at some things which seem especially appropriate to this festival of commemoration and to this place. We have laid such an emphasis in all our Theological curricula upon the English Bible that it is highly desirable that those who preach it should know something at least of how it came to wield such a sceptre over all other books.

First of all the linguistic pedigree of the Book considered as a translation partly accounts for its power. We are especially this year called to commemorate the Authorized or King James Version and we must not withhold the high praise that belongs to that noble company that met in Oxford and Cambridge and Westminster with such men as John Reynolds, the flower of Puritan culture on the one hand and on the other Lancelot Andrews, a rare blending of scholarship, saintliness and the fair humanities—the type of the finest Anglicanism. But their work was a finishing work and not the main work. It is imposible to understand what they did except in the light of that larger and, may we say, even greater company who began to lay the foundation two centuries and more before.

What has already been said will show you that our Bible is not a wild rose flowering in a desert, but the rarest product of the gardener's art. It has taken a long time to develop the American Beauty or the Princeton Rose. This "Rose of Sharon" retains its native wild fragrance; but

careful culture and skillful grafting have made it a miracle of finished beauty. To understand this we must know something about the gardeners and also of the soil in which it was grown and the sub-soil,—the religious life not only of England, but of mediaeval Europe. The stir and thrill of great events, the birth agony of new life for men and nations, were necessary to produce it. Our Version is thus a composite photograph in which are blended the intellectual features of the whole company that produced it. Above all others we may distinguish the cast of countenance of William Tindale and possibly behind him another in an elder day the "Morning Star of the Reformation"² who shone in that *matin prime* when Dan Chaucer was singing of April showers and unrolling his magic tapestry inwrought with a processional of Canterbury pilgrims—or in twentieth century parlance, a motion picture vivid with the life of that long gone time when "Our ost upon his styrops stode" and called on the "Persone", "for Goddes boones tel us a tale". The Persone reproved him "so synfully to swere", whereupon the "ost" exclaimed, "I smel a loller in the wind" and the "Shipman" broke in with a tale more to his liking. But later the Persone took a text in the Latin Bible from Jeremiah and preached a long sermon on "Contricioun".

When Chaucer wrote this Wycliffe's Bible was already in circulation and he must surely have seen it. The picture which he draws of the "Persone of a Town"

"Who taught Christs lore and his Apostles twelve,
But first of all he folowed it himselve,"

seems like a sketch from the life of Wycliffe, not in his University robes and dignities, as the Master of Balliol, but as the faithful Priest of Lutterworth where as Tennyson sings—"the Word was born again."

² It is assumed that in accordance with the general tradition John Wycliffe himself was the author of at least part of the first English Bible. A contrary view is now advanced, for instance, by Alfred W. Pollard in a recent volume, *Records of the English Bible*, Introduction.

Scholars in early English tell us that through Chaucer and Wycliffe what had been a midland dialect became standard English. Such words for instance as "advantage", "person", "glory", "divine", "disciples", "reasonable", and others quite as familiar, were introduced into our language by Chaucer, the father of English poetry. Wycliffe's English was closer to the speech of the common people than courtly Chaucer's; racy and pungent Saxon, more like Bunyan in a later time. This is particularly true of his Bible translation although made from the Latin Bible of Jerome. These two great historic contemporaries stand at the very head-waters of English literature. The head-waters give character to the whole stream; Chaucer is the father of English poetry; Wycliffe perhaps cannot so definitely be called the father of English prose, but he comes near to being so. If Chaucer is a "well of English undefiled", so is Wycliffe also and, according to modern standards, of even purer English than his illustrious fellow.

What precise degree of influence Wycliffe had on Tindale is not agreed among scholars and critics. A sentence in Tindale's Preface would seem to indicate that he had no direct influence and our scholar experts, approaching it from the Biblical side so interpret it; yet, we cannot lightly set aside our American master of English, Professor Marsh, who in his admirable *Lectures on the English Language* declares that "Tindale is merely a full grown Wycliffe" and that Wycliffe "originated the consecrated dialect of the English Bible while Tindale gave it finish and perfection." Whether he did or not, he and his poor priests circulating their manuscript copies through England prepared the minds of the people to appreciate Tindale when he came and made Bible English the groundwork of the language of literature.

William Tindale evidently had translating genius. There is no better authority than Bishop Westcott and what he says of Tindale is profoundly significant. "He felt by a

happy instinct the potential affinity between Hebrew and English idioms and enriched our language forever with the characteristics of the Semitic mind." His style of interpretation, according to the same high authority, is profoundly original and at the same time popular rather than literary. It is surely a mark of his genius that what he chose because he was bent on being understood of the common people in his own day has become the accepted classical dialect of high literature—"High Wenli", to use a Chinese phrase. Above all other translators he has given the main stuff—the *corpus* of our English Bible, not only in the Old Testament, but even more in the New, for Bishop Westcott again affirms that the substantial basis of half the Old Testament (probably) and the whole of the New is his, so that when we read King James we really read William Tindale.

This does not ignore what was subsequently done by Coverdale who as Dr. Eadie beautifully said "furnished the semitones in the music of its style," or by Rogers, for doubtless it was he who appears in what is called Matthews' Bible, or by the others which I can only name, or the Genevan Version, next to Tindale perhaps most influential, bearing indirectly the impress of Calvin, certainly of the School of Calvin. The swelling current of Bible translation received the contribution of that pellucid stream, clear and cool from the alpine heights. At quite the opposite pole from the Genevan Version is the work of the Roman Catholic translators of Rheims or Douay by which in a measure our translators were influenced. Their principle of slavish adherence to the Latin which they translated, made their English at times un-English and scarcely intelligible; yet, they brought something that was worth preserving,—for instance, the beautiful phrase of our Version: "the ministry of reconciliation." It would be unbecoming at such a time to forget for a moment that the company whom King James gathered together were genuine scholars who had both the critical acumen and the true scholarly spirit of humility that made them do just enough and not too much.

With infinite pains they brought to consummation the best in all prior translations. Like good musicians they were not ambitious to shine as soloists, but to produce a grand orchestral effect, so that we have indeed a Version whose praises it would be difficult to exaggerate or over-state. It is a triumph of pure scholarship in the best sense. So highly is this appreciated, that there are those who do not hesitate to say that the English Version surpasses in places the original Scripture considered purely as literature.

Professor Benjamin Jowett took this view, and quite recently Canon Vaughan, in a notable article, who also claims Lord Tennyson as an adherent of it. Mr. Bryce, who has rendered us all such services, not only as an Ambassador to this country from the Court of St James, but by his masterly historical treatises, in a characteristic address last week took similar ground, defending the position that the Gospels and the Epistles are (in a literary sense) more impressive in the English of the age of Shakespeare and Bacon, when our language had risen to its full stature, than in the Greek of the first century when Greek had sunk below the classical level.

One hesitates to question such masters, but there is room for doubt to say the least. Apart from its bearing on our doctrine of inspiration, it is fair to ask whether it is the function of translators after all to improve on the original. A good translation is a mirror and though we may prefer our mirrors to flatter us when we look into them, we do not account them as quite fulfilling their function if they do so. If a prophet or apostle wrote colloquially, should his translator make him speak classically in the grand style? At all events it is high enough praise that these translators (*sit venia verbo*) taught Moses and Isaiah to speak idiomatic English, albeit with a slight Jewish accent,—a Hebraistic tinge which after a while became classic English usage, accent and all. This is a wonderful linguistic phenomenon. The slight Hebraisms of the Version have been so “Anglicized”, that English folk have all but forgotten that they

are anything else than Saxon. Verily Tindale might have been a theological Professor, either in the Semitic department, or that of the English Bible.

Wycliffe's Version was the first great piece of English prose. Tindale might almost be called the second, for the fifteenth century has little prose literature to boast of. Professor Marsh declares that his New Testament has exerted a more powerful influence on the English language than any other single production between the ages of Richard II and Queen Elizabeth, and J. R. Green from the historical standpoint comes to the same conclusion.

The bearing of this on the question of the influence of the English Bible on English literature need not be elaborated. At a time when literary forms were still fluid, the Moses of the English Bible showed all translators the pattern which he had seen in the Mount. He who makes the mold largely makes the product, and the growing and developing English Bible from Tindale or even from Wycliffe to King James became "the glass of fashion and the mold of form" in the highest and best sense of the word. Naturally this would be true with writers on distinctly religious subjects as, for instance, such important prose works of the sixteenth century as those of Sir Thomas Moore and Hooker, "the judicious Hooker". The sermons and treatises of the great Protestant and Puritan and Anglican divines contain material of the highest value considered merely as literature. Apart from its theological uses it has powerfully affected the general body of English literature. Who can measure the influence of Milton pealing forth his organ notes not only in epic and ode, but in lofty prose; or of Bacon not so much in his philosophical treatises which were more Latinized in style as in his immortal essays, where there can be counted seventy Biblical allusions?

Next to the Bible itself stands Bunyan, for a long period the most widely read English author, whom M. Taine, though without any faith in Bunyan's doctrines, recognizes as a master of the English tongue, almost beyond compari-

son. "Bunyan has the freedom, the tone and the ease and the clearness of Homer."

But it is quite as signal a mark of the divine providence that was watching over English *belles lettres* and embalming it in Scripture diction, that the minor dramatists and poets, for instance ungodly Christopher Marlowe and "rare Ben Jonson", were not untouched by the potent literary influence which no one could escape. Chiefest of all stands William Shakespeare, of whose religion we must stand in some doubt; certainly not a Puritan; according to his modern appreciator and critic, Dr. Brandes, hating Puritanism; but under the spell of the Genevan Version. One loves to think of the boy Shakespeare who was four years old when the Genevan Version was published, sitting in the chimney-seat at Stratford and pouring over the Genevan Version, as later Abraham Lincoln in his still humbler cabin devoured King James. It has often been shown, and never better than in the latest treatise by Dr. Thomas Carter, how the plays reveal to the literary microscope not so much direct quotations as delicate turns of phrase and subtle phases of thought that could only have come from the Genevan Version. The divinity that shapes our ends surely was shaping English literature when it saturated William Shakespeare's mind in his early childhood with the English Bible.

We cannot follow down the glowing pathway fascinating as it is. High-souled Sidney, courtly Raleigh, quaint Herbert, pithy Fuller and the rich and varied splendor of Jeremy Taylor spread across the firmament like a milky way. The poets notably depend upon the Bible from Spenser the poets' poet, through all the high succession to Tennyson, whose abundant reference to the Bible Dr. van Dyke has drawn out in detail; and Browning even more overflowing with Biblical allusion, as Mrs. Machen has taught us in her admirable book—and latest of all Kipling, not only in the solemn Hebraic tones of the "Recessional", but in lighter measures, for instance, in "Pharoah and the Sergeant"—

a picture of how English non-commissioned officers drilled the Egyptian soldiery into an effective fighting force :

“Said England unto Pharoah, ‘You’ve had
miracles before,
When Aaron struck your rivers into blood;
But if you watch the Sergeant he can show
you something more,
He’s a charm for making riflemen from mud.’ ”

or this,

“Said England to the Sergeant, ‘You can let
my people go!’
(England used them cheap and nasty from the
start),
And they entered ’em in battle on a most
astonished foe—
But the Sergeant he had hardened Pharaoh’s
heart.
That was broke, along of all the plagues of
Egypt,
Three thousand years before the Sergeant
came,
And he mended it again in a little more than
ten,
So Pharaoh fought like Sergeant Whatsisname!’ ”

Evidently a knowledge of Old Testament history is necessary to understand Kipling. It sounds also as though in his uncritical simplicity, he held fast to the historicity of the Exodus. He actually seems to believe not only in Moses but in Aaron!

The great singers have all sung in this key. Creative poetic genius of every school and in every age has kindled its fire at this ancient shrine. It was true at the beginning, but it is still more true at the end of three hundred years. In prose it is not less so. The best English usage today according to the keenest critics is less Latinized and more Saxon than it was in the time of King James; more like Bunyan, more

like Tindale and Tindale perfected by the careful and judicious scholarship of the Authorized Version.

There was a time when Saxon-English—and Bible English—was not so generally acknowledged as the best, but it has become so now. Professor Cook of Yale says “that the movement of English diction, which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was on the whole away from that of the Bible, now returns with ever accelerating speed toward it.”

Approaching now the deeper reasons for the paramount influence of the English Bible on English literature, we must not forget that the making of the Version was part of a larger and deeper movement of which it was the exponent and expression. It might have been linguistically all that it is and never have come to its own but that, concurrently with its production, Europe was passing through the agonizing birth throes of the Protestant Reformation. Wycliffe was, as John Milton says, “the first preacher of the Reformation to Europe.” The text for that preaching could be nothing else than the English Bible. But it never could have been what it was and is if the translators had been merely literati or nice textual scholars concerned merely to purvey exquisite literary delicatessen to dainty palates. They were on the contrary good shepherds bent on feeding the flock of God with the wholesome necessities of the spiritual life.

It may be truly said of them that they translated in the selfsame spirit which moved the original writers of Holy Scripture. With eternity ever before their minds they gave the English folk not only Saxon diction but supernatural ideas so that the way of life was made luminous and real to their readers. The seed which they sowed fell upon good ground for the people were hungry for the Bread of Life. It is indeed the Protestant Bible that we have, not because Protestants claim a monopoly in it, but because it is of the essence of Protestantism that the common people shall hear in their own tongue the wonderful works of God. No one

has brought out this fact more keenly than our foreign critic, M. Taine, a skeptic and agnostic, but a man with piercing insight, who draws the picture, first of the Pagan Renaissance and its amazing effect on the English people. From the Bible he says "has sprung much of the English language and half of the English manners." "To this day the country is Biblical. It was these big books which transformed Shakespeare's England." He paints in vivid colors the yeoman, the artisan, the shop-keepers with the Bible on their tables in the evening, bare-headed, listening to a chapter. Professor Saintsbury says "it soaked from every side, at every pore, into the understanding and heart of the English people."

The greatest genius in order to succeed must have an audience—a public. God raised up Tindale and his fellows and gave them such an audience—a growing multitude who feared God and could not be satisfied with mere literature, as they were hungry and thirsty for the Bread of Life. Then, too, among Tindale's most effective coadjutors were his enemies. The fires of Smithfield served to burn the patterns which he drew into the very substance of English life. People had few books; they cared for few and for none as they cared for this. Henry VIII and Bloody Mary forced the English mind and conscience to behold the realities of life and death and eternity just at the time when the Providence of God raised up a group of men to put into their hands His own Word in its naked majesty and ineffable tenderness.

History is made by the conjunction of forces and events out of the control of man and it was such a conjunction that made Protestant England and in Protestant England made the Bible the daily bread for men's souls.

Nothing was further from the thoughts of either Wycliffe or Tindale than to seek literary preëminence, but the promise was fulfilled to them; they sought first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and literary reputation was added unto them.

This is unmistakable the moment we put the English Bible into contrast with the vernacular Versions of Romanized countries in Europe. Under the shadows of the Inquisition, earlier considerably than King James, Cassiodore de Reyna toiled at the Spanish Bible as Tindale had toiled in English. He left his task unfinished, but Cyprian de Valera took it up and a few years earlier than King James the whole Bible was published. We still have it and circulate it in Latin America as well as in Spain. It is beloved by Spanish Protestants with an intensity of attachment which rivals or surpasses the attachment of Englishmen to the English Bible; but it has no relation to Spanish literature. The masters of Spanish letters know it not. Ticknor in his *History of Spain* does not mention it; though he does mention that long before Tindale or Wycliffe a Spanish monarch sought to fix the Castilian as a literary language by putting the Bible into it and that a similar attempt was made in Catalan—significant and admirable attempts, but seemingly failures because there was no disposition to read the Bible in Spain. The Valera Version is not nearly equal in intrinsic merit to King James; but it was not for that reason that it failed to reach the national mind of Spain, but because Spain quenched the light and rejected the Reformation. In France it is not very different though Calvin himself with his rare mastery of French toiled over the Olivetan Version, and there have been other Versions; but neither there nor in Italy nor in any other of the Romance languages, has the Bible any recognized relation to general literature. Dante made modern Italian by his *Divina Commedia*, turning away from the classical Latin. If he had translated the Bible, it is not likely he could have dominated Italian language and literature with it. In Germany, on the contrary, Luther made modern High German by his Version. Protestant Germany along with Protestant England has sanctified its literature, humanly speaking, because it has recognized the light of the world and walked in it. Well might Cardinal Newman exclaim in despair, "The literature of England is

against us. It is Protestant in warp and woof. We never can unmake it."

Not only the great masters of literature admit their debt to our Version, but English speech everywhere is permeated with it in incalculable ways. It is the gold basis for our major coinage; but it also supplies the smaller coin of popular phrase. Everybody talks about "highways and hedges", the "still small voice" and "the thorn in the flesh" and the "root of all evil" and "the sweat of the brow" and "coals of fire" and "pearls before swine"—the list can be drawn out *ad infinitum*.

It is striking to observe how popular Bible titles for popular novels have become. Thackeray set the example in his "Adventures of Philip On his Way through the World. Who Robbed him, Who Helped him and Who Passed him by." "Cometh Up Like a Flower" is another. The Prodigal Son has furnished, I believe, several lesser writers with titles. It is doubtful whether most of Miss Wharton's readers know that "The House of Mirth" is borrowed from Ecclesiastes. Indeed the very enemies of the Bible, when they would attack it, must sharpen their swords with the keen phrases of Job or Isaiah or St. Paul, recognizing that the English Bible has become a national habit. Mortised thus into the very framework of literature and woven into the speech and usage of daily life; shining like the sun upon the just and the unjust, it is natural that we should feel a comfortable security that it never can be dislodged or torn out of its place of supreme honor. But let us not be too confident, lest we forget what put it there, for that alone can keep it where it belongs.

The literary reputation of the English Bible is the consequence and not the cause of its power. The true cause of its whole influence is the conviction, bred into the bone of English Christendom, that it is the very Word of God—the ultimatum of Deity. If once that conviction be impaired, we need not fancy that its literary power and influence will not wane. Already we see unwelcome signs of care-

less neglect—the outgrowth of worldly living and a skeptical habit of mind. When men cease to believe in its full divine authority, they will presently find plausible reasons for denying its supreme value as literature. So in this year of commemoration, it is of the first importance that we should understand that Almighty God gave it to us, not indeed by mechanical dictation, not by poetic *afflatus*, but by a true *theopneustia*. Its power in English is a derived power drawn from its aboriginal form. Is it not wonderful that though only a translation and not indigenious to our soil, it should yet dominate our literature?

How fair it seems, our much loved English Bible, like a stately vessel coming from some distant ocean laden with rare spices and costly treasures to visit our shores!

We know what masters laid thy keel,
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,
Who made each mast, each sail, each rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge, in what a heat,
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope.

New York.

JOHN FOX.

THE ENGLISH BIBLE IN THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE.¹

In attempting to treat so spacious and many-sided a theme, within the time allotted to each of the speakers on this occasion, one can at most hope only to touch upon a few fundamental considerations. I shall confine myself to two main lines of thought, from which we may, as I trust, take a rapid yet fairly comprehensive view, alike of the general principles that underlie this subject and of their concrete expression and practical significance in the particular period of history to which these commemorative exercises direct our attention this morning. In the first place, then, let us consider the nature of the spiritual influence exerted by the Bible as such, and in the second place let us try to form some estimate of the range or extent of this influence, in the case of the English Bible, upon the spiritual life of the English-speaking people.

The Bible is emphatically the book of life. It is a collection of writings which, as a matter of observation and experience, are as vitalizing as they are vital. Directly or indirectly they all bear testimony to One who professed to come into this world that men might have life, and have it abundantly, and who, judged by the events of history, has brought life and immortality to light for a multitude whom no man can number. What the evangelist John says concerning the purpose of his own Gospel is true in a sense of all the Scriptures: "But these are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye may have life in his name."

In its realization of this mission the Bible, it must be emphasized, renders its chief service to the individual. Its

¹ An address delivered in Miller Chapel on Tuesday, May 9th, at the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the publication of the Authorized Version of the English Bible.

message and its ministry are primarily personal. Its divinely ordained method of ennobling society as a whole is that of transforming, simultaneously indeed yet also separately, its constituent units. One by one, men, women, and children are to appropriate its treasures of truth and grace and life until, in the consummated kingdom of heaven, the race and the cosmos are fully redeemed. Even the subtle intangible yet most real and potent spiritual atmosphere or climate which we instinctively feel when we enter a community in which the human spirit has for many generations homed itself in the sacred Scriptures can and must be traced back to the influence of the Sun of righteousness upon those rivers of living water which, as the Savior affirmed, gush forth from the regenerated personality of each of his followers. Here as in every other vital process the personal factor is the determining one.

Nor is it difficult for us to understand how the Bible becomes the word of life to every one who really accepts its great message. For the unique excellence of the book is its profound, intense, all-pervading spirituality. It is the record of God's self-disclosure to his people for the benefit of the whole race, and as such a revelation it is fitted to be the bearer of a new and divine life for the children of men. Not that any magical power inheres in the mere letter of Scripture. It is the Spirit that giveth life—that same Holy Spirit who makes those whom he regenerates see with the certainty of an immediate intuition the perfect agreement between the new life that has sprung up in their own hearts and that wonderful world of spiritual truths and heavenly energies and transcendent glories which they behold in the Bible. In a word, the Spirit-led reader finds in the inspired volume as nowhere else him whom to know is eternal life. When this is said, everything is included. For as Principal Fairbairn reminds us, "Man's thought of God, of the cause and end alike of his own being and of the universe, is his most commanding thought; make it and you make the man." Does not the repeated experience of every one of us

testify that the unity of our own personal life emerges most clearly to our view when, as in the act of prayer, we stand face to face with the only true and living One? Man's relation to God is, in fact, the fruitful mother-principle that organizes the whole system of his thoughts, affections, aspirations, and purposes. Historically, as Dr. Kuyper, in his noble "Stone Lectures" has so well showed, there have been developed five characteristic expressions of this fundamental relationship between the finite and the Infinite. Paganism seeks and finds and worships God in the creature. Islam takes the antithetic extreme that cuts off all contact between God and the creature, isolating the former from human affairs and confining the latter within a realm of inexorable fatalism. Modernism in its atheistic and agnostic forms as seen in the shibboleth of the French Revolution, "No God, no master," tries to annihilate all relation to God, because he is conceived as a power hostile to the state and society. We are concerned more particularly with those other two comprehensive life-systems which have grown up side by side in our western world upon substantially the same biblical foundation, Romanism and Evangelicalism. With all they have in common, the former maintains that God enters into fellowship with man only by means of a middle-link, an external visible institution: it is the hierarchical church that stands between the soul and the source of its life. Over against this the Protestants, and notably of course that commanding constructive genius of the more thorough-going Reformed faith, John Calvin, proclaimed the epoch-making truth, that God, though standing in majestic sovereignty above all his creatures, can and does enter into immediate fellowship with them in the person of the Holy Spirit. In nothing is the contrast more striking than in the views of the two parties concerning the Scriptures themselves. The Romanist accepts the Bible as the word of God primarily because the church tells him it is such; the Protestant accepts the Bible as the word of God primarily because God himself by an immediate *testimonio Spiritus*

Sancti tells him it is such. To the Protestant the message of the Eternal in holy Scripture is self-evidencing. To him God here speaks directly in such wise that he is convinced that it is God who is speaking to him.

But not to dwell upon this particular application of the principle which led the Reformers to oppose the whole papal system, we would emphasize the fact that this self-authenticating revelation of God which the Bible records becomes the chief means for the divine regeneration of human life. When man finds the living God, especially as made known in the person and mission of his only begotten Son, then man also finds himself. He passes through a crisis of his spiritual being that little by little transforms from within his whole life. Standing before the holy Lord God Almighty the sinner feels his soul lacerated by the consciousness of his guilt. But the divine majesty is not completely unveiled until the white radiance of ineffable purity is seen to fall upon the Christ and then to break into the varied hues of that condescending love and redeeming grace that can stoop from the heavenly glories to the lowest abysses of human sin and shame and misery for the salvation of men. This is the marvel of marvels that the quickened soul, Spirit-led and Bible-fed, ever finds in the Gospel—God himself undertakes the sinner's cause. God is for him; God is with him; God is in him. Through the slow and oft-times painful steps of self-examination, and self-condemnation, and self-renunciation, the penitent rises, by the aid of a divine Redeemer, to the heights of true self-realization. The cross of Calvary, once the object of the guilty man's scorn and derision, becomes luminous with a hope that flashes its radiance towards all the horizons of his life and even beyond into the solemn grandeurs of the eternal world. Outside of the Scriptures, left to himself, man had lost himself amid the vague shadows of a transitory order of things; but now in the faith that is in Christ Jesus he finds himself, because he rediscovers his Father and his God and all the abiding realities of the spiritual universe. He has become a

new creation. His life has a new centre and a new circumference; new ideas and new ideals; new motives and new powers for the realization of the divine purpose that shapes his character and conduct and destiny, the attainment of Godlikeness. No wonder he calls the Bible his sacred book. For all his most precious interests whether of time or of eternity, are bound up with its life-giving words. It is the light, the inspiration, the comfort and joy of his needy soul as nothing else on earth can be. It is his chief means of spiritual grace and development, working silently day by day, like the sunshine, to enrich and beautify his life. As another has said, "It is thus the revelation of God to man; the revelation of man to himself; and the revelation of the spiritual constitution, meaning and destiny of that cosmic process by which our humanity has come into existence and by which also it will be ultimately 'delivered out of the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God.' "

Such, then, is the function of the Bible as "the friend and aider of those who would live in the spirit." Wherever, through the long centuries, the Scriptures have entered into the language, literature and life of a people, wherever their vital message has been appropriated by the human spirit, there these characteristic, life-quickening, life-transforming, life-ennobling, life-spiritualizing influences of the Gospel have made themselves felt. And not only so, but from the day of Pentecost to the present time there has been a measurable correspondence, as if between cause and effect, between the study of these living oracles and the quantity and quality of the spiritual life of each generation.

When, therefore, we now undertake to estimate the range or extent of the spiritual influence of the Bible in its English translations, particularly in the Authorized Version, which by way of eminence has been *the* English Bible of the last three centuries, we are confronted by a fact that is as unique as it is significant: no people of the modern world have had their life more thoroughly moulded by the Scrip-

tures in the vernacular than have the people of English speech. How far this may have been due to the number and excellence of their biblical versions, or to that spirituality of mind which they had in common with other Teutons of the North, or perchance to the reflex influence of that great literature of theirs, which came to surpass all others not only in its composite richness, its intellectual maturity, its creative energy, but also in its ethical seriousness, its democratic sympathies and its religious earnestness, we need not pause to consider. The fact itself is plain enough. How then may we estimate its meaning? We might undertake a historical comparison between our English-American civilization and that based upon the mediaeval conception of the Bible in its relation to church and state. Or we might look at those more static expressions of the spiritual life of a people which we find in their literature and art. But in view of our having thus far spoken chiefly of the dynamic principles by which the Scriptures as such operate in the regeneration of the individual life, it will be more appropriate to pursue the parallel line of investigation and see how far these same principles have affected the various social institutes of the English-speaking world. We have seen that the primary service which the Bible renders is always a personal one, the spiritual improvement, amounting to a positive renewal and not a mere reformation, of every man, woman or child who truly receives its message of salvation. We now maintain that its secondary service to society as a whole is equally vital and, because of the vaster issues involved, even more important—that of maintaining and helping to realize the exalted ideals and the beneficent tendencies of those social institutions which at their best have grown up, if not solely yet chiefly, under the inspirations and the sanctions of the Gospel itself.

First, then, we have the family, the primary social institute, the cornerstone of the home, the school, the church, the state, the nation. It is, of course, based upon natural instincts of the most powerful character, "whose roots are in

the body, but whose flowers and fruits are in the soul." It secures through marriage and parentage a more intimate blending of physical and spiritual interests than does any other human relationship. While, therefore, we cannot say that it owes its very existence to the Bible, it is a truth worth our remembering at such a time as this, that the best homes that the world has ever seen have been those nurtured in the soil and atmosphere of the religious life of the countries in which the Bible has been supreme. The very words father and mother, brother and sister, son and daughter, in our own language, have been expanded beyond their limits in paganism and filled with the richest, because the most spiritual content. In the English-speaking world as nowhere else is that dictum verified, "Only where Christ is crowned king is woman a queen in her home." I am aware, indeed, that the Puritans of England and New England are not now held in the same high esteem they once were. Doubtless, we realize more thoroughly that they had their roughnesses, their austerities, their tempermental limitations. But for all that, their lives were centered in God and circumferenced by the spiritual. Their abodes on the earth were sanctuaries of prayer and Bible study and sacred song, and right well did they understand that most delicate and difficult but withal blessed task of inculcating in children the fear of the Lord that is the beginning of wisdom, and that disposition of mind and heart that seeks and finds God in the common things of life and puts the spirit of divine worship into all the work of life. Here, of a truth, in the purity and sanctity of the home, we have one of the open secrets of the spiritual excellence and supremacy of our Anglo-Saxon civilization. The courtesies, the proprieties, the humanities of our domestic life, its moral strength and beauty, we owe directly to those spiritual influences that have flowed into the sanctuaries about our hearths from the holy hill of Zion, "fast by the oracles of God."

Again, consider the varied blessings that the spiritual

life of the English people, quickened and nurtured as it was by the Bible in their vernacular, has brought to their own and other lands through the manifold activities of the second of our social institutes, the church. The church is the congregation of believers, the communion of those sharing the kindred life of faith in Jesus Christ. As such she is the most spiritual of all the organized forces in human society. I can only enumerate some of her most characteristic and important achievements.

The most obvious is that magnificent missionary enterprise that has sent English-speaking heralds of the cross unto the very ends of the earth. Two events, neither of which can be rightly understood except from the point of view of the religious history of the world, prepared the way for this unique glory of the island-home of our spiritual forefathers—the wresting from Spain by England of the supremacy of the seas, and the evangelical revival in Great Britain and America in the eighteenth century. Since then the spiritual life of the English-speaking people has never ceased to blossom and bear fruit in almost every land and clime; and, as if conscious of, and grateful to God for the source of its sustenance, it has, through the British and Foreign Bible Society and our own American Bible Society spread the good seed of the word broadcast over the earth in the form of over two hundred and fifty millions of copies of the holy Scriptures.

Equally noteworthy is the service of the church in the educational world. Without attaching any undue importance to that creation of the religious life of England, the modern Sunday school, which has the teaching of the Bible as the very ground of its existence, and without dwelling upon the varied service of biblical instruction which the missionary experts abroad and our ministers at home are more and more emphasizing as an essential in all true evangelization, I would allude to that splendid chapter in the spiritual development of mankind which the church has inspired by her constant devotion to the cause of the com-

mon school, the private academy, and the higher institutions of learning. Wherever the Scriptures have been rightly used they have not only showed the inadequacy of merely intellectual discipline, aesthetic culture and utilitarian training, but have also dignified and sanctified art and science and learning by making them the true interpreters of the glory of that God who desires his children to know him in the works of his hand in nature as well as in the special revelation of his grace.

And what shall we say of the numberless humanitarian, charitable and philanthropic institutions and movements of which in all ages, and never more than in the English-speaking world of to-day, the church has been the fostering mother? With all their defects and limitations they have been among the crowning glories of our Anglo-Saxon civilization. The Gospel has heroically grappled with the problem of evil and has done much toward its solution by means of a myriad-fashioned social helpfulness. And mark you, the church has been enabled to render this service herself and to inspire even those outside of her membership to aid her in the task, only by means of that basal principle of her faith which we have emphasized: in the presence of the eternal God, the loving heavenly Father, every human life is sacred, and inasmuch as the redemption in Christ Jesus makes a brotherhood of all believers, the strong are constrained to bear the burdens of the weak, the afflicted and the unfortunate. It is because the English Bible has entered so profoundly into the spiritual life of the English-speaking people that these social duties of the Gospel have been so well understood and, on the whole, so faithfully performed by them.

Still further, it has been the church, the company of those who owning allegiance to Jesus Christ seek to realize his ideals of moral character and conduct, that has done most, by precept and example, to lure and lift the souls of men to higher planes of ethical living. By common consent the Scriptures are the most potent influence to vitalize and

develop the moral life of the race. They purge and enlighten conscience; they energize and determine the will of man for righteousness as no other force can do, because they bring motives deep as eternity to bear upon his choices and because they present as the model for our lives One who has not only created humanity's ideal of perfection but can also bestow the power that transforms his worshippers into a living likeness to himself. As read in the privacy of the home, but even more as proclaimed in the great congregation, where deep answers unto deep in the experience of the common faith, the Bible moves us, guides us, checks us, and sustains us in our efforts to realize the manifold excellence of the life that is dedicated to the high ends and aims which it keeps before us. The much praised moral earnestness and sobriety, the ethical gravity and impressiveness of our English and American literature are due chiefly to the sublime ideas and ideals of the Bible and the embodiment of these in the conduct of the men and women who have adorned its teachings by their lives.

I can only allude to the last great service which the Bible has rendered through the organized church; I mean its constant influence in keeping religion itself pure and spiritual. Divine worship is grounded in the very instincts of the soul and is therefore a universal phenomenon in human life. But we need to remember that it is the Bible above all other forces that makes and preserves spiritual religion as a living reality, safeguarding it from superstitious errors, sensuous practices and conventional formalism. It does this by means of its basal doctrine that the supreme object of our interest and devotion is a spiritual Being of infinite holiness who must be worshipped in spirit and in truth, with loving gratitude and joy, it may be, but ever also in humility and purity of heart. Thus by virtue of the cleansing and strengthening currents of their spiritual influence the Scriptures have been the chief agency for ennobling and sanctifying religious worship itself in Protestant England and America.

The third social institute that reflects, and therefore helps us to gauge, the influence of the Bible upon the spiritual life of the English-speaking people is the state.

It is, of course, no accident of history that the most democratic governments, those guaranteeing the largest measure of popular freedom, have been reared in those countries in which the Gospel has most firmly established itself. For while Christianity as such favors no one political system as against another, it always and everywhere brings to bear upon a nation's life three far-reaching fundamental principles that slowly but steadily make for republicanism in the state as well as in the church. First, it makes its appeal, as we have seen, primarily to the individual, calling upon him to exercise the prerogatives of his manhood as a free agent in the highest sphere of his thought and action, the realm of his relation to his Maker and Redeemer. Secondly, it recognizes and enforces the sacredness of his own personality as a social unit, requiring him, if need be—and in England the need arose more than once—to assert against the "divine rights" of unjust kings, the diviner rights of his own enlightened conscience. And thirdly, it places all men, rich and poor, king and subject, master and slave upon substantially the same moral plane before God as the one sovereign Lord and Judge of all. Nothing short of these sublime spiritual conceptions and convictions inculcated by the Bible could ever have shattered the despotisms of caste and class and secured the political enfranchisement of the individual citizen to the extent to which we find it developed in the modern world, first of all in the Calvinistic Netherlands, then in England in the wake of the "glorious revolution" of 1688, and best of all in the constitutions of our several commonwealths and the federal government. It is because of the presence of these dynamic principles of the Gospel in our life and literature that Wordsworth's lines are true—

"We must be free or die who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake."

And the best guarantee for the perpetuity of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, is found in those supplementary truths of the Bible that there is no liberty worthy of the name save that which exists in obedience to righteous authority; that there can be no just laws or ordinances among men unless they are grounded in the eternal Righteousness; and that the glory of every state, as of every individual citizen, depends upon an ever-deepening conception of, and an ever-increasing devotion to, the revealed will of the King of kings and the Ruler of all nations.

And now lastly, we have the great English-speaking race itself as the most extensive and the most important of the social expressions of the spiritual influence of the Bible in the modern world. Anglo-Saxon civilization is, indeed, a complex product, to which many forces, some of them purely material, have contributed. But its noblest features, its best tendencies, its brightest hopes are simply inexplicable apart from that Book of books, the very translations of which into the vernacular have, through the passing centuries, been the dominating force in creating the first great bond that holds the Anglo-Saxon world together, our common speech; and the spiritual revelations of which have touched these mighty sister nations at a profounder depth of their common interests than has any other factor that has ever entered into the life of either of them.

Friends, what means this universal thanksgiving and joy on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean in connection with those two series of events that are in all our thoughts to-day, in which the King of England and his humblest subject and President Taft and the rank and file of our citizenry are so deeply interested—the various celebrations being held in both countries to commemorate the publication three hundred years ago of this noble English version of the Bible, and these good substantial steps, quite unprecedented in the history of the race, that are being taken on both sides of the water to insure by means of a permanent tribunal of

arbitration lasting and honorable peace between Great Britain and the United States of America? One sentence tells the whole story: through the written word Christ the incarnate Word is coming forth into our Anglo-American civilization in the glory of his Saviorship, conquering and to conquer, after the divinely appointed order of Melchizedek, the King of righteousness first of all, and after that also the King of peace.

So to-day we give God thanks, and ascribe to him all the glory, for the remarkable influence in the past of the English Bible upon the spiritual life of the English-speaking people; and for the future, we pray, for ourselves and for all the tribes and kindreds of the people on the face of the earth

“Word of life, most pure and strong
Lo! for thee the nations long,
Spread, till from its dreary night
All the world awakes to light.”

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE AUTHORISED VERSION OF THE BIBLE IN SCOTLAND.

I. THE RECEPTION OF THE AUTHORISED VERSION.

In an appendix to his *Additional Memorial on Printing and Importing Bibles* Dr. John Lee says: "In Scotland the people have been accustomed to borrow all the works used in the service of the church. They have never had a version of the Scriptures except what was borrowed. They have a borrowed Confession of Faith, borrowed Catechisms, a borrowed version of the Psalms in metre (furnished chiefly by Barton and Rous)."^{1a} This, when viewed in connection with our exclusiveness in doctrine and polity, is one of the enigmas of Scottish ecclesiastical history. From Dr. Lee's researches it would appear that the Genevan Version of the Bible held its own with King James' Version until 1640. This was the version that had been chiefly

^{1a} This statement, while to all intents and purposes correct, requires a word of explanation as far as a Scottish translation of the Scriptures is concerned. In 1500, Murdoch-Nisbit made a translation of the New Testament for his own use. Dr. Lindsay thinks that it was taken from one of the vernacular editions of the Scriptures used by the Lollards (*Scottish Historical Review*, April, 1904) but as it was practically a private venture for private purposes it has scarcely the right of being reckoned a Scottish Version.

A much more interesting question for Scotsmen is the fact that as early as 1601 the question of a new translation was brought before the General Assembly which met that year at Burntisland, King James himself being present. Calderwood's account of the affair may be quoted:—"In the last session it was meaned by sindrie of the brethrein, that there were sindrie errours in the vulgar translatioun of the Bible, and of the Psalmes in meter, which required correcting; as also, that there were sindrie prayers in the Psalme Booke that were not convenient for the tyme. It was therefore concluded, that, for the translatioun of the Bible, everie one of the Brethrein, who had greatest skill in the languages, imploy their travells, in sindrie parts of the vulgar translatioun of the Bible that needed to be amended, and to conferre the same together at nixt Assemblie." Nothing, however, ever came of the proposal.

used in Scotland and was the *popular* version alike in England and in Scotland. Whatever significance may be now attached to the phrase "Appointed to be read in Churches" it would appear that it does not imply compulsion.¹ For on turning to the works of Scottish writers it is noticeable that even those most willing to show obedience to the House of Stewart continued using the Genevan Version. It was used by Dr. William Guild, chaplain to Charles I. In Sir James Sempill of Beltrie's *Sacrilege Sacredly Handled, that is according to Scripture only; for the use of all churches in general, but more especially for those of North Britaine* (London: 1619) the Genevan Version is used. The same is true of the *Dikaiologie* (London: 1614) and *Triumph of a Christian* (1615) both by William Cowper, bishop of Galloway. The bishop also used the Genevan Version for the texts of his sermons. In James Baillie's sermon *Spiritual Marriage* preached at Westminster (London: 1627) dedicated to nine peers and seven other courtiers of the Scottish nation the Genevan Version is always quoted. Struthers² in his *Christian Observations and Resolution for Death*, both printed at Edinburgh, 1628, follows a like course. Zachary Boyd, also, uses the Genevan Version in the *Last Battell of the Soul* (Edinburgh: 1629). William Wischart, parson of Restalrig, generally uses it in his

¹ The question as to the authorisation of King James' Version was raised on the issue of the Revised New Testament in 1881. Dr. Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, and Lord Selborne, the Lord Chancellor, were inclined to regard the words "appointed to be read in churches" as implying authorisation by some competent authority. Their letters appeared in the *Times* (June 10, 1881) and are reprinted in Dr. Schaff's *Companion to the Greek Testament and the English Version*, p. 334. The subject was thoroughly discussed by Dr. Randall Davidson, now Archbishop of Canterbury, in an article in *MacMillan's Magazine* for October, 1881 (see summary of his argument in Schaff, pp. 331-333), and from the evidence he adduces there can be very little doubt that the phrase did not imply compulsory authority. The Scottish usage as noticed above confirms Dr. Davidson's contention.

² Calderwood leaves us in no doubt to which side Struthers' sympathies leaned. Time and again he refers to Patrick Galloway and Struthers as the "two pensioners" (*Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland*, vii.).

Exposition of the Lord's Prayer (London: 1633). John Abernethy, Bishop of Caithness, in his *Physicke for the Soule* quotes from the same version. And Alexander Henderson in preaching before the General Assembly in 1639 quotes his text from the Genevan Version.³ From the foregoing evidence it would appear that the use of the new version was not compulsory; otherwise those who were favourable to the royal policy would have shewn their anxiety to meet it in using the Authorised Version.

When we turn, in search of evidence, to ecclesiastical courts or church formularies we fail to discover anything that will account for the position ultimately attained by the Authorised Version. No doubt it is enacted in the *Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiasticall* (1636) that: "In every church there shall be provided at the charge of the parochin, a Bible of the largest volume, with the Booke of Common Prayer and Psalmes, newlie authorized. The Bible shall be of the translation of King James; and if any parochin be unprovided thereof, the same shall be amended within two months at most after the publication of this constitution." This decree, however, is of little significance; for two years afterwards the Glasgow Assembly made short work of the *Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiasticall*. The book was condemned as "contrary to the Confession of Faith and repugnant to the established government, the Book of Discipline, and the acts and constitution of our Kirk." The very fact that the Authorised Version was recommended in this book shews that it must have had some hold, otherwise it might have been set aside in the mighty ecclesiastical upheaval which Scotland experienced at this time. The formularies adopted by the Scottish Church from the Westminster Assembly while referring to the Scriptures make no mention of any particular version which, in the very nature of things, showed the wisdom of those who were responsible for drawing up the Westminster Directory for Public Worship and the Confession of Faith.

³ Lee's *Memorial*, pp. 90-92.

The Authorized version made its way on its own merits independently of ecclesiastical enactments.

The new version evidently was regarded by some in Scotland as standing in need of revision. At least, there was a proposal for revision in the following quaint terms:—

“For ye bettering of ye English translation of ye Bible (1st printed A.D. 1612) by Mr. Jn^o Row,⁴ ’tis offer’d. That these five things are to be endeavoured

- I. That evil and unmeet divisions of chapt^{rs}, verses, and sentences be rectify’d and made more proper, rationall, and dexterous, wch will much clear the scope.
- II. That needles transpositions of words, or stories, prtending to Hypall or Synchyses, be warily amended; or noted if they cannot.
- III. That all vseless additions be lop’t off, yt debase the wisdom of ye Spirit; to instance—
 1. All ye Apocryphall writings; being meerly humane.
 2. All popish and superstitious prints, plates, and pictures.
 3. Apotheosing and canonizing of some (not oth^{rs}) as Sts., St Luke: not St Job. . .
 4. Spurious additions, or subscriptions (to Epistles) words & Sentences.
- IV. That all sinfull & needles detractions be supply’d; and yt lies in 6 things viz.
 1. Let all sentences, or words detracted, be added in ye text.
 2. Epitomize ye contents, & chapt^{rs} better at ye topps of ye leafe.
 3. The parenthesis ought not to be omitted, where ’tis.

⁴ John Row was the son of Rev. John Row, Carnock, author of the *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*. He continued his father’s *Historie* from 1637 to July 1639. He had been sometime Master of the Grammar School, Perth, and afterwards Principal of King’s College, Aberdeen. His *Hebrææ Linguae Institutiones* appeared in 1644, the first book of the kind printed in Scotland. His *Χιλιάς Hebraica: seu, vocabularium* appeared the same year, and his *Ἐνχαριςτια Βασιλική* in 1660.

4. Exhaust not the Emphasis of a word, (as Idols, 13 wayes exprest).
 5. Nor ye Superlative, left only as a positive.
 6. Notificatum, not noticed at all.
- V. As respecting mutation, or change, 4 things are needful; namely,
1. That nothing be changed, but convinc't apparently, to be bett^r:
 2. Yet a change not hurting truth, piety, or ye text, may be just & needfull.
 3. Many evil changes are to be amended as these 9 in particular:
 - (1) When words or sentences, are mistaken.
 - (2) When ye margin is righter than ye line, as in 800 places (& more) it is.
 - (3) When particles are confounded.
 - (4) When a word plurall, is translated as singular.
 - (5) When the active is rendered as if a passive.
 - (6) When the genders are confounded: as mostly ye cantic: bee.
 - (7) When Hebrismes are omitted, in silence, or amisse.
 - (8) When participium paül is rendered as if it were Nÿphall.
 - (9) When conjugatio pyëll is Inglish't as if Kal.
 4. (On the other hand) 9 good changes are to be warily endeavour'd, viz.
 - (1) Put ye titles of ye true God (all ouer) literâ Capitali.
 - (2) Let Magistrates correct misprinting of Bibles.
 - (3) Put more in Inglish, (even *propria nomina*;) less in Heb. Gr. & Latin termes.
 - (4) That Ingl. words (not understood in Scotland) be idiomatiz'd.
 - (5) That all be Analogicall to Scripture termes, not toucht wth our opinion, or error.
 - (6) Something Equivocal to Keri, & Kethib, be noticed.
 - (7) That letters, poynts, and stopps, be distinctly notified.

(8) The paralel places ought to be well noted, in the margin.

(9) Things not amiss, may be endeavored to be bettered.

The like is (as to y^e N. T.) to be endeavored, many words wanting their owne native idiom and import, and sometime y^e translation overflows in y^e English; or els is defective: and some words confounded: (Ex:gr: *δυναμις*, power, and *ἐξουσία*, in 70 or near 80 places translated power wch is properly *authority*, &c).

All this has been essayed by divers able Hebritians: as Mr H: J: Mr Jⁿ C. &c whose notes, and pains are yet conceal'd in private hands, but may come to light, and publick use, in due time."

This proposal for revision like that of the Long Parliament in 1653 came to nothing⁵ and is, as far as is known, the only proposal emanating directly from Scotland for a revision of the Authorised Version.

The only active opposition to the Authorised Version came from the Gibites or the "Sweet Singers of Borrowstounness"—a small sect of the later Covenanting period. Their leader "Muckle John Gib" was a ship captain and from the scattered accounts coming down from this period it is evident the Gibites were under strong delusions. It is unnecessary to dwell on their strange vagaries⁶ except in so far as to point out their attitude to the translation of the Scriptures made in 1611. The Government of the time had as little respect for the Gibites as they had for the Cameronians, with the result that numbers of them were cast into prison. In fact the Government were not slow to ascribe the excesses of the former to the latter. While in prison a number of the Gibites sent out a protest in which they say:—"It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us

⁵For an account of the Long Parliament's proposal see Whitelocke's *Memorials* and Wescott's *Hist. of the English Bible*, pp. 120, 121.

⁶"Gib's Blasphemous Papers, May 1st, 1681" are given in Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, vol. III. Donald Cargill expostulated with these fanatics but failed to bring them to a right state of mind in divine things.

to take out of our Bibles the Psalms in metre" supporting their action by quoting:—"For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book" (Rev. xxii. 18). Concerning the Authorised Version they say:—"We, being pressed to the work by the Holy Ghost, do renounce the impression and translation of both the Old and New Testament." They offer objections to the dedication, to the divisions into chapters and verses as being of human invention—which, it must be admitted, were not the worst features of their religious insanity. They also objected to "the drawing scores betwixt the books of the Bible." The Gibites soon died out and never exercised to any appreciable degree an influence on the religious or ecclesiastical life of Scotland. Their opposition, therefore, to the Authorised Version is not recorded here because of its importance but simply as a passing incident not without interest in the history of the Authorised Version in Scotland.

II. THE BIBLE SOCIETY OR APOCRYPHA CONTROVERSY.

The Apocrypha Controversy, though having only a distant relation to the main subject of this article, is of interest because of the prominent part taken in it by Scotsmen and also because of the great commotion it caused in the auxiliaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Scotland. It is also to be borne in mind that this Controversy may be held as directly responsible for the insertion of articles III and IV in the constitution of the National Bible Society of Scotland which this year has celebrated its jubilee. This Society was formed by the amalgamation of the National, Glasgow, and Edinburgh Bible Societies in 1861. The latter Society took a prominent part in the Controversy the memory of which is perpetuated in the articles already referred to and which are as follows:—"The only version of the Holy Scriptures, in the English language, which the Society shall circulate or hold in stock shall be the Authorised Ver-

sion; and as regards translations into other languages, only such shall be adopted as shall be in harmony with the principles of the Society, and shall be approved of from time to time by the Board of Directors (article III). The Society shall consist of all who are willing to unite in promoting its object: but none except Protestants holding the doctrine of the Holy Trinity shall be admissible to hold any office in connection with the management of the Society (article IV)."

The story of the rise of the Controversy is soon told. Robert Haldane on a visit to London called with a friend at the offices of the British and Foreign Bible Society to make some enquiries in connection with an edition of Martin's French Bible, which he had himself originated. This edition had been printed at Toulouse, at the expense of the Society under the inspection of Professor Chabrand. Forgetting his umbrella, Mr. Haldane returned next day for it and was requested by Mr. Zachary Macaulay, the distinguished philanthropist, to join a sub-committee, which was then in conference with Dr. Pinkerton in regard to the Toulouse Bible. To his great surprise he learned that the Apocrypha had been appended to this edition and also to the earlier edition of 1817, notwithstanding that his contributions had been given on the distinct understanding that these editions would contain nothing but the pure Word of God. This discovery led to a prolonged controversy which concerns us here from only the Scottish standpoint.⁷

The printing of the Apocrypha with the Bible was clearly against the rules of the British and Foreign Bible Society and after Mr. Haldane's protest it was thought the publishing of the Apocrypha with the Bible would cease. But in 1824 on application by Dr. Van Ess, a German Roman Catholic priest, the Society voted £500 for an intermingled Apocrypha. On 21st September the Edinburgh Bible So-

⁷ *Lives of Robert and James Haldane* (London: 1852) p. 517. For a fuller account of the Controversy see Henderson's *The Religious Controversies of Scotland*, pp. 95-110, where a list of works having reference to the Controversy will be found.

ciety sent a letter of expostulation. Another remonstrance was sent in January of the following year. And in March of the same year a protest came from Cambridge threatening the withdrawal of the signatories' subscriptions unless the Apocrypha was printed with the Bible. The Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society fell in with the views of the Cambridge protesters and there was nothing for it now but that the Edinburgh Bible Society should take a firm stand. In 1825 they issued their *Statement Relative to the Circulation of the Apocrypha by the British and Foreign Bible Society*. Five thousand copies were printed and circulated over the country. It gave a brief summary of the events connected with the rise of the controversy, the Resolutions of Rev. W. Craig, an Episcopal clergyman, and an Appendix drawn up by Professor Paxton, shewing the false doctrines and superstitions sanctioned by the Apocrypha. While Mr. Haldane was the first to bring the matter before the Edinburgh Bible Society he did not take a public part in the controversy until near the end of 1825. At this time he issued his *Review of the Conduct of the British and Foreign Bible Society relative to the Apocrypha, and to their Administration on the Continent; with an Answer to the Rev. C. Simeon and Observations on the Cambridge Remarks*. Mr. Haldane sent forth his first charge with the appropriate mottoes:—"Add thou not unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar" (Prov. xxx. 6) and "Shouldest thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord?" (II Chron. xix. 2). Mr. Haldane's *Review*, says his biographer, was unanswerable and closed the first campaign in the Controversy.

At this stage the report of the Special Committee, to which the question of the Apocrypha had been referred, was given in to the British and Foreign Bible Society. The Report was Anti-Apocryphist but compromising and unsatisfactory. While matters were thus progressing there appeared on the stage one of Scotland's great ecclesiastical leaders—the Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson of Edinburgh.

He was one of the most powerful debaters of his day and his appearance in the controversy gave it a new significance. Dr. Thomson took the high ground that the whole question involved the integrity of the canon and the supremacy of the Bible. He had been appointed Secretary of the Edinburgh Bible Society and the first public intimation of his appointment was the issue of the *Second Statement* by the Edinburgh Society. Dr. Thomson was assailed with unjustifiable asperity. No doubt he had struck out strongly himself but there were more personalities in the return attack than were justifiable. But those were the days of sledge-hammer blows which controversialists gave and returned in a way that would be considered out of place in modern times. This *Second Statement* of the Edinburgh Bible Society, says the biographer of the Haldanes, "fell amongst the Philo-Apocryphists like the stroke of a tempest." In a third *Statement* the Edinburgh Society gave the three points on which they could not agree with the deputation sent from London. These were:—(I) As to the propriety of an expression of regret for the past violation of what was now admitted to have been the fundamental law. (II) The necessity of breaking off all connexion with foreign Societies which should continue with their own funds to adulterate the sacred canon. (III) Some change in the membership of the London Committee, so as to ensure an administration in accordance with the laws of the Society.

Mr. Haldane's *Review* was answered by Dr. Steinkopff, the foreign secretary of the Society in his *Letter addressed to Robert Haldane, Esq., containing some Remarks on his Strictures relative to the Continent and to Continental Bible Societies*. This called forth Mr. Haldane's *Second Review*, which, like the first, passed through two large editions. This *Review* made a profound impression and was described by Dr. Andrew Thomson as "by far the most powerful essay which has yet appeared on the controversy." He also says:—"It gives such a view of the Foreign Societies, as should make every man tremble at the thought of employing them as

agents." The Apocrypha Controversy in the nature of things raised the questions of the Canon and Inspiration. It called forth, among other works, Carson's *Treatise on Inspiration* and Haldane's *Books of the Old and New Testaments proved to be Canonical and their Verbal Inspiration maintained and established with an Account of the Introduction and Character of the Apocrypha*.

One terrible blow to the British and Foreign Bible Society was the discovery that Dr. Van Ess who had received in nine years £20,000 in grants besides a salary from the Society, had all the while been acting as printer, publisher and bookseller to his own evident advantage. Notwithstanding this discovery and others of a like disconcerting kind, there was no proclamation of peace between the belligerents. The Edinburgh Bible auxiliary took up a separate position from the British and Foreign Bible Society. Dr. Thomson, the great protagonist in the conflict, as one about to lay aside his armour and surveying the field where the battle had raged so fiercely, said at a meeting held in Edinburgh in 1830, shortly before his death:—"Sir, I have fought for myself; I have been called to do so; having withstood to the face and sharply rebuked and relentlessly exposed the desecrators of God's Holy Word. . . . I have fought for my brethren, and, verily, from such I have had my reward. But, sir, I have fought for the Bible, the book of God, the record of saving faith, the foundation on which rest all our hopes for eternity. I have fought for the Bible, and there is a reward for that; there is a reward for it here (pointing to his breast); there is a reward for it yonder (pointing to heaven); and that is a reward which, be he friend or be he foe, no man taketh from me." His death was like the fall of a standard bearer in the battle, but the conflict was not to be given up, and the echo from the field of battle is still to be heard in Scotland and should not be forgotten.

Among those who took the side of the Apocryphists was M'Gavin, the editor of the *Protestant*, who wrote:—

"I wish all the world had the Bible even with the Apocrypha beside it, nay even with Tom Paine beside it. I would trust God's Word in the presence of its greatest enemy, and feel no anxiety about the consequence." Dr. Wardlaw, also, took the same side and being inspired by the conflict, lapsed into rhyme. His verses contain some sage advice to controversialists in every age what though his verse be homely. Here are two stanzas:—

"O shun the dogmatical airs of conceit!
 Forget not how little the wisest can know,
 In the twilight of heavenly science below:
 The high *ipse-dixit*, infallible tone
 Is the right of the Pope and the Council alone.

When you quote an opponent, be candid and fair,
 'Tis needful the more that the virtue's so rare;
 Disjoint not the periods to answer your end,
 Nor a word nor a syllable alter or bend,
 I always suspect—*latet anguis in herba*,
 When a man does not quote my *ipsissima verba*".

Another distinguished Scotsman who took part in the Controversy was the brilliant but erratic Edward Irving. He had risen from a sick-bed to utter his protest at a London meeting but so heated were the feelings of the audience that they refused to listen to him. When order had been restored he delivered his message from the Edinburgh Bible Society, but his eloquence had no subduing effect on his audience, for disorder reigned supreme. "I see," he said, "it is vain to speak, for you are determined that I shall not be heard. However, I have performed my duty to my Lord Jesus Christ: let those answer to Him who have withstood me. And I will say this also, I have stood alone,—alone, too, not among my enemies, but my brethren." With these words we may fitly close our brief sketch of the Apocrypha Controversy. It had to do, as will be seen, with

the printing of the Apocrypha with foreign translations of the Bible and did not apply so much to the Authorised Version, but its bearing on matters so closely connected with the Bible entitles it to more than a passing reference in any account of the history of the Authorized Version of the Bible in Scotland.

III. THE PRINTING OF THE AUTHORIZED VERSION.

In April 1568, Robert Lekprevik received a license "To imprint all and haill ane buke callit the Inglis bybill imprintit of before at Geneva." Every other person was forbidden to print during the period of his right, which was declared to be for twenty years. Lekprevik never printed a Bible, so that the people were as dependent as formerly on imported editions. The first portion of the Bible printed in Scotland, either in English or any other language,⁸ came from the press of Thomas Bassandyne and Alexander Arbuthnot in 1576. This was a New Testament. When the Old Testament was finished the whole work was issued with the title:—"The Bible and Holy Scriptures contained in the Old and Newe Testament. Printed in Edinburgh be Alexander Arbuthnot, Printer to the Kingis Majestie dwelling at Kirk of Feild. 1579. Cum gratia & privilegio regiae Majestatis". Other editions of the Genevan Version were issued in 1601 and 1610.⁹ The Genevan Version, though not largely printed in Scotland, was brought in in great numbers for sale, and in Scotland as in England it was the Bible of the people.

In the year 1611 when the Authorised Version was issued from the press, Thomas Findlasone received authority from the Lords of Secret Council "to imprint and caus be imprintit, all and sundrie utheris actis, statutis, proclamatiounis, letteris, and chargeis concerning his Majestie and his estait; as also the buikis of Holy Scriptour, contening

⁸ Lee's *Memorial for the Bible Societies*, p. 28.

⁹ A list and description of these editions will be found in Aldis' *List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700* and Lee's *Memorial for the Bible Societies*.

the Auld and New Testamentis, in all languages, in hail or in part, and in quhatsumever volumes, grytt or small." All printers, booksellers and others were prohibited "to print, or caus be printed, within or out-with the said realme, any of the saidis hail buikis particularlie specifeit heirin, in the said Actis of Counsall or gift foirsaid; or to bring hame, or any way to sell, the samyne within the said realme, during the said hail space of twentie yearis nixt and immediatlie following the dait of thir presentis, (exceptand alwayis the Byble, the New Testament, and the Psalm Buik, quhilkis sall nawayis be comprehendit under this present gift, but speciallie reservit and exceptit furth thairof) under the pane of five hundereth merkis." This license was granted from 1612 to 1632 but as Thomas Findlasone died before it expired, his second son Walter received the right for thirteen years so that the grant ran to 1641. Dr. Lee concludes that the reservation of the Bible in the gift of Findlasone in 1612 was probably dictated by the King's desire to facilitate the introduction of the Authorised Version. Be that as it may, Findlasone never printed any edition of the Scriptures, though authorized to print them in all languages. In the license, however, he was not empowered to penalize those who printed or imported Bibles, with the result that the "heirs of Andro Hart"¹⁰ printed an edition of the New Testament in 1628.¹¹ This was the first issue of any portion of King James' translation in Scotland.

¹⁰ Andro Hart was both a bookseller and printer. He died in 1621; after his death his business was taken over by his wife and children and was carried on under the trade name "Heirs of Andro Hart" until 1639.

¹¹ "This edition", says Dr. Lee, "has a calendar prefixed, containing a much smaller number of holidays than were inserted in that of the Church of England. The Table of Moveable Feasts includes only *Whitsunday*, *Easterday*, and the beginning of *Lentron*. In this respect it corresponds with the edition printed at *Dort*, for Andrew Hart and the Heirs of H. Charteris, in 1601,—with this difference only, that the first day of Lent is called in that edition *Fasting-even*. Both editions omit *Advent Sunday*, *Ascension-day*, *Rogation-day*, *Septuagesima Sunday*, etc. (*Memorial* pp. 82, 83).

Another edition of the New Testament (King James' translation) was issued from Raban's printing press, Aberdeen, in 1631. In 1632 Robert Young was appointed King's printer and from 1641 he had as partner Evan Tyler. Young issued an edition of the Bible¹² in 1633 with two issues of the New Testament, one bearing the imprint: "Printers to the King's most excellent Majestie"—the other:—"Printed by Robert Young, printer to the King's most excellent Majesty for the Kingdom of Scotland". The impression of the latter which is sometimes accompanied by the Old Testament, says Dr. Lee, is said to have been extremely limited. Mr. Aldis, however, in his *List of Books* gives the Bible of 1633 as a separate entry. It is probably to this edition that reference is made in a letter quoted in Lord Hailes' *Memorials and Letters*. The writer says:—"That you may taste a little of our condition I have sent you two of your own Scots Bibles, the New Testament only, wherein they have placed such abominable pictures, that horrible impiety stares through them. These come forth by public authority. Do you shew them to such as you think meet."¹³ Young also issued two editions of the New Testament in 1635—an octavo and duodecimo. Two editions of the New Testament were, again, issued in 1636.¹⁴ An octavo edition of the Bible came from his press in 1637 with three editions (8°, 12°, 32°) in 1638. Robert Bryson who had commenced business as a printer in suc-

¹² Aldis' *List of Books*, p. 22.

¹³ "These pictures", says Dr. Lee, "are said to have been impressions from the plates of the book entitled, *Imagines Vitæ, Passionis et Mortis D. N. Jesu Christi*, etc., printed by Boetius a Bolswert, anno 1623. It is asserted in one of the charges against Laud, that he had brought these popish pictures from foreign parts, and that with his good liking they were bound up in English Bibles, which were called the *Archbishop of Canterbury's Bibles*. The number of plates in the original book is said to have been seventy-four, most of them finely executed. The Edinburgh Bible of 1633, in which they have in some instances been inserted, is printed in double columns, and bears a great resemblance to some London editions of the same period" (*Memorial*, p. 97).

¹⁴ Aldis' *List of Books*, pp. 24, 25.

cession to the Heirs of Andro Hart in 1639 issued a 24^o New Testament in 1641. Evan Tyler printed the Bible in parts in 1642 and two duodecimo editions of the New Testament were issued the same year: the one from the press of J. Bryson and the other from that of Tyler. An octavo edition of the New Testament of this year gives the printers' names as Young and Tyler. In 1643 and 1647 Tyler issued 16^o editions of the New Testament and an octavo in 1648. Octavo and duodecimo editions of the Bible were printed by Tyler in 1649. There seems to have been a lull here in printing Bibles in Scotland for a number of years. No doubt the mighty upheavals in Church and State had their effect even on the printer's art. Robert Sanders, Glasgow, "printer to the toun" issued a duodecimo New Testament in 1666. Dr. Lee mentions an edition of the New Testament "printed in the letter called English Roman by George Swintoun and James Glen" in 1669.

The following year there were two issues of the New Testament—one from the press of Robert Sanders, Glasgow, and the other from Andrew Anderson's press. Anderson had been a printer in Glasgow, but removed to Edinburgh in 1661, and on 10th June, 1663, was appointed printer to the town and College. His edition of the New Testament was printed in black letter. The work was carelessly done; so carelessly, indeed, that the Lords of the Privy Council interfered. In their enactment issued in 1671 they declare that "having considered the great danger which may ensue to the Christian religion from incorrect copies of the books containing the Holy Scriptures, and that of late the New Testament hath been printed at Edinburgh, in a black letter, by Andro Anderson, printer, for the use of children at schools, with many gross errors and faults in the impression, do therefore prohibit and discharge all the stationers and others of this Kingdom to vent and put to sale any of the copies of that edition of the New Testament until the same be first amended, and a title-page prefixed thereto. And do ordain and command the printer

thereof to receive from the stationers all the copies of the same remaining with them unsold, and before thay be offered again to sale, to correct and amend the errors of the same, and to prefix a new title-page thereto, bearing that this edition is corrected and amended in the year 1671 and that under the pain of payment of one hundred pounds sterling in case he fail therein." Instead of Anderson's career as a printer being put to an end by the above enactment, one is amazed to discover that within three months he obtained a gift under the Great Seal, afterwards ratified by Parliament, constituting him and his heirs his Majesty's sole, absolute and only printer. Anderson was privileged not only to print Acts of Parliament and other governmental official documents but also "Bibles in all volumes with the psalmes thereuntil thrie partes of the Bible and New Testaments in all volumes all bookes of divinity, commentaries, concordances, books of the cannon or civill lawes."¹⁵ In 1673 Anderson issued an edition of the Bible "in a letter called pereill letter with notes in the volume of 12", and in the same year another "printed in the same letter without notes in the volume of 18". Andrew Anderson and his Partners¹⁶ issued a duodecimo edition of the Bible in 1675, and the following year an octavo edition was issued from the same press.

Anderson died in 1676 and the business was carried on by his widow. Her appearance on the stage of affairs opens up one of the most extraordinary chapters in the annals of Scottish printing. She set herself to punish severely any attempt to deprive her of the monopoly which she enjoyed. Printers were brought to book, and booksellers were punished for importing Bibles and other books. The struggle went on for years. Had she devoted a tithe of the energy with which she pursued printers and booksellers to the more laudable work of turning out correct editions of the

¹⁵ *Acta Sec. Concil.* (Oct. 12, 1676).

¹⁶ This is the co-partnery of Andrew Anderson with G. Swintoun, J. Glen, T. Brown and D. French from 1671-1675.

Bible, it would have been more to her credit. As it was, some of the Bibles turned out from her press were a scandal to the printer's art. In 1678 there was issued from her press a quarto edition of the Bible. Sanders issued a duodecimo edition of the New Testament from the Glasgow press in 1686 and another in 1691. Mrs. Anderson issued a duodecimo Bible and a duodecimo New Testament in 1694. Another two duodecimo editions of the Bible were issued from the same press in 1696 and 1698.

Before making reference to later editions something must be said about the kind of work turned out by Mrs. Anderson. Here are some of the misprints:—"Righteousness" for "unrighteousness"; "he killed" for "he is killed"; "enticed in everything" for "enriched in everything"; "either" for "neither"; "would" for "word"; "perfect" for "priest"; "we know" for "we keep"; "hast slain" for "wast slain".¹⁷ The octavo edition of 1694, a copy of which is in the British Museum, has a notebook attached with the following errors noted:—"Rame" for "Ramah" (Matt. ii. 18); "brackers" for "brother's" (Matt. vii. 3); "the house" for "that house" (Matt. vii. 27); "dardness" for "darkness" (Matt. viii. 12); "obey them" for "obey him" (Matt. viii. 27); "them which do do iniquity" (Matt. xiii. 41); "when" for "went" (Matt. xxii. 15); "and" for "ask" (Matt. xxii. 46); "the disciples of John and of John" for "of John and the Pharisees" (Mark ii. 18); "his eyes" for "his ears" (Mark vii. 35); "*her* right mind" for "*his*" (Luke viii. 35); "this man was" for "this was" (Luke xxiii. 47); "knoweth" for "I know" (John v. 32); "your father" for "your fathers" (John vi. 49); "people" for "peoples" (John vii. 31); "then said they to him again" repeated (John ix. 26); "leadeth them *not*" for "*out*" (John x. 3); "speaking" for "speak in" (Acts ii. 6); "longed" for "lodged" (Acts x. 23); "there" for "three" (Acts xi. 11); "otion" for "oration" (Acts xii. 21); "accorning" for "ac-cording" (Acts xiii. 23); "ma" for "man" (Acts xiv. 8);

¹⁷Eadie's *English Bible*, II, 318, 319.

"spira" for "Syria" (Acts xx. 3); "Priscilla" for "Drusilla" (Acts xxiv. 24); "beaking" for "speaking" (Acts xxvi. 14); "forgive" for "give" (Roms. viii. 32); "seen Jesus" for "not seen" (I Cor. ix. 1); "wanteth" for "vaunteth" (I Cor. xiii. 4); "preached" for "reached" (II Cor. x. 14); "published" for "punished" (II Thess. i. 9); "tears" for "ears" (II Tim. iv. 4); "with stood" for "stood with" (II Tim. iv. 16); "which covereth the sinner" for "converteth" (James v. 20); "speak" for "seek" (I Pet. iii. 11).¹⁸ In an edition published by Mrs. Anderson in 1705¹⁹ there are five columns in which the italic *a* occurs at least seven hundred times, for example:—"And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took bread and *a* bottle of water and gave *it* unto Hagar (putting) *it* on her shoulder) and the child and sent her *away*: and she departed and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba" (Gen. xxi. 14). It is only just to say that the quarto edition of 1678 "is better than almost any which has been printed in Scotland of late years, except the royal quarto 1822."²⁰ But from 1678 to 1712 the different editions degenerated. The 1698 edition is indistinctly printed and full of errors such as:—"Against Satan" for "against himself" (Mark iii. 26); "bring for" for "bring forth" (Luke i. 31); "of the flesh" for "of the will of the flesh" (John i. 13); "does of the law" for "doers of the law" (Rom. ii. 13); "ye were not the servants of sin" for "ye were the servants of sin" (Roms. vi. 17); "eject" for "elect" (Roms. viii. 33), but bad as it is with errors from a typographical standpoint, it is beautiful when compared with the 1694 New Testament.²¹

Mrs. Anderson unfortunately had imitators, and Dr. Lee

¹⁸ Eadie's *English Bible* II, 318, 319.

¹⁹ Dr. Lee says about this edition, though not so full of errata, it is printed so as to puzzle the best reader who is not acquainted with the sacred text. He gives the following illustration: "Why should it be though tath ing incredible w^t you, y^t God should raise the dead" (*Memorial*, p. 166.).

²⁰ Lee's *Memorial*, p. 163.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

has pointed out a number of misprints in nineteenth century editions. For instance, in the *Edinburgh quarto Bible*, 1808, "thereof" for "therefore" (Micah vi. 16); "hear" for "heard" (Luke iv. 28); "in" for "vain" (Gal. ii. 21); "her" for "their" (James i. 27). In a *quarto Bible, Edinburgh*, 1822:—"made" for "make" (Is. xl. 3); "hath" for "have" (Jer. xv. 10). In an *octavo New Testament, Edinburgh*, 1812:—"comest" for "cometh" (Matt. xvii. 27); "the" for "thee" (Matt. xviii. 17); "the" for "thee" (Mark x. 52); "may" for "many" (Luke vii. 21); "my" for "may" (Acts viii. 22). In an *octavo New Testament, Edinburgh*, 1816:—"comest" for "cometh" (Matt. xvii. 27); "they" for "that" (Luke viii. 14); "them" for "him" (Luke xx. 15); "you" for "your" (Phil. i. 25); "offered" for "suffered" (1 Pet. iii. 18). In an *octavo New Testament, Edinburgh*, 1824:—"comest" for "cometh" (Matt. xvii. 27); "strayed" for "strawed" (Mark xi. 8); "puffed" for "puffed up" (1 Cor. iv. 6); "offered" for "suffered" (1 Pet. iii. 18). In an *octavo Bible, Edinburgh*, 1823:—"fifty" for "fifth" (Ezek. viii. 1). In a *12mo Bible, Edinburgh*, 1834:—"cost" for "coast" (Zeph. ii. 7). In a *12mo Bible, Edinburgh*, 1836:—"four" for "your" (1 Thess. iii. 7). In a *24mo New Testament, Edinburgh*, 1832:—in Heb. vi. 17, two lines are transposed unintelligibly. It will be seen from these examples that the Bible suffered severely at the hands of printers in Scotland. The best editions of the Bible were those issued by James Watson. His smaller Bibles of 1715, 1716, 1719 and especially his folio of 1722 occupy an honored place.

The matter of incorrect editions of the Scriptures was often brought before the General Assembly, and in 1717 the Assembly instructed the Commission "to take the most effectual course to get the printing, vending, and importing of incorrect copies of the Holy Scriptures, and of our Confession of Faith, and Catechisms, stopped and prevented." The Commission of Assembly, 1719:—"Considering that the work of the foresaid Committee is not yet fully finished,

and that it is fit that a proposal tending so much to the honour of religion should meet with all due countenance and encouragement, renewed the instructions, directions, and powers given by the said former Commission to the fore-said persons, ministers, and elders." In 1793 the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr transmitted an overture to the General Assembly to the following effect:—"Whereas it is notorious that the late common edition of the Bible is printed so imperfectly, and on such bad paper, as to be almost illegible, it is overtured that proper means be used that the Bible shall be printed in such a distinct manner, and on such paper²² that it may be read with ease by the common people." The Assembly gave the following deliverance on the overture:—"The Assembly feel it their bounden duty to pay every attention to the printing of the Bible; but upon considering the letter from his Majesty's printer, and having viewed the said specimens which were given in, they think it unnecessary to proceed any further in this matter at present." It would appear that the King's printer was in no special hurry to bring out the new edition of the Scriptures for we find the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr again returning to the charge and sending up the following overture to the Assembly in 1796:—"Whereas it was overtured by the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr (April 1793) that the common edition of the Bible was inaccurately printed, and in many parts illegible; and whereas the Assembly inquiring into this matter, had satisfying specimens laid before them of a new edition being in the press, and which it was by them understood was to be then soon published, agreeable to said specimens; and whereas it does not appear that his Majesty's printers have made any progress in said publication since that period, it is therefore humbly overtured to the ensuing General Assembly, that they inquire into the causes of such

²²"Certainly it is", says Dr. Lee, "that after that time, as well as before, the Bibles used in schools were printed so ill, that many pages had the appearance of being obliterated. The paper was said to be made of the refuse of cotton, and the substance had so little tenacity that part of it often stuck to the face of the types"—*Memorial*, p. 195.

delay, and appoint said publication to be made with all convenient speed, or otherwise proceed in this business as they shall see cause." The overture was dismissed by the Assembly "in respect that the important object mentioned in it has already been obtained by the printing and publication of a new edition of the Bible."²³

The printing of the Bible was a blot on the printer's art in Scotland. It is the one book that cannot claim a number of good editions. This state of matters was largely due to the monopoly long enjoyed by the privileged printers. While in England there were three privileged presses, in Scotland there was but one. The last holders of the privilege were Sir David Hunter Blair and John Bruce, Esq., and latterly his niece Mrs. Margaret Tindal Bruce. In 1824 they brought an action against the Bible Societies in Scotland and succeeded in interdicting them from bringing into Scotland any copies of the Scriptures printed in England. The case was appealed to the House of Lords, but here in 1829, the decision of the Court of Session against the Bible Societies was affirmed. "The result was", says Dr. Eadie, "that the British and Foreign Bible Society might despatch Bibles to all the ends of the earth, but they durst not send down an English Bible into Scotland, even to their own auxiliaries."²⁴ It was this action at law that called forth Dr. Lee's *Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland; Containing Remarks on the Complaint of His Majesty's Printers against the Marquis of Huntly and Others*: Edinburgh: 1824. This was followed in 1826 by his *Additional Memorial on Printing and Importing Bibles; Containing Remarks on the Answers for Sir David Hunter Blair, Bart., and J. Bruce, Esq., His Majesty's Printers to the*

²³ "An edition, published in the course of that year with Canne's notes (of which copies may still be found in what is called the Old King's Warehouse, and in many booksellers' shops) presents to the eye one of the most disagreeable specimens of typography in the world; and it is so far from being legible, that it is difficult to say whether it is correct or not."—Lee's *Memorial*, p. 197.

²⁴ *English Bible*, II. 324.

Petition of George Buchan, Esq. and others. With a Continuation of the Appendix to the Former Memorial; for the Use of Counsel only: Edinburgh: 1826. The pamphlets are a credit to Scottish historical research. They are now somewhat scarce. Both are usually bound together and make a volume of 396 pages with about 200 pages additional of Appendices. Dr. Lee has gathered together in these pamphlets an extraordinary mass of information about the English Bible in Scotland, bibliographical, typographical and historical. The work was thoroughly done and it still occupies the first place on the subject. Fortunately the monopoly was abolished in 1839, and the Scottish printers are free to publish the Scriptures, subject to the supervision of a Board in Edinburgh, of which the Lord Advocate is the head. The printer must inform the Board of his intention of putting an edition to the press and enter into a bond for £500. Each sheet is to be inspected by the Board, and not until it is passed by them or their reader is the printer allowed to issue it. The Board reserves the right of cancelling any erroneous page.²⁵

The withdrawal of the privilege had the effect, among others, of a considerable reduction in the price of Bibles and a large increase in their circulation. The prices fell one half and this enabled many to become possessors of a Bible who had hitherto been denied the privilege.

Wick, Scotland.

D. BEATON.

²⁵ Eadie's *English Bible*, II. 324-5.

CONCERNING THE INCARNATION AND THE ATONEMENT

In *The Harvard Theological Review* for October, 1909, there appeared an article by Professor Josiah Royce of Harvard that may well challenge thought. Dr. Royce is one of the half dozen English speaking men who have attained to the greatest depth and height as thinkers in Philosophy, and he is a man of passion as well as of insight. The subject of the article is the question: "What is vital in Christianity?"

Dr. Royce discusses the claims of the different elements in a religion to be respectively regarded as vital—its cult, its religious practices, its creed, its spiritual attitude. He does not take it for granted that the ritual of a religion may not for some persons, in some stages of advance, be the most vital thing in it. But he gives his strength mainly to discussing two answers which one might supposably make to his question. One answer is that what is vital in Christianity is simply the spiritual attitude and the life inculcated by Jesus in his teachings and his example. The other answer is to the effect that the idea of the divine-human redemption for man is a true idea and is also vital in Christianity. Which is the vital thing—the spiritual life in a man, with its practical results, or the divine-human redemption? Of course the orthodox reply is that the vital thing is the spiritual life in its relations to the divine-human redemption; and that if either is to be regarded as more vital than the other, then the divine-human redemption is the more vital. We shall see how the reply of Professor Royce agrees with this.

Please to have the thesis sharply in mind. No one doubts that a Christian should possess the spiritual attitude and the life and the aims that Jesus inculcated and exemplified. This is vital. Are the incarnation and the atonement also vital?

I. Let us begin by giving attention to the phraseology in which Dr. Royce formulates the question and gives his answer to it.

In dealing with his work I quote profusely. I do this partly for the sake of being fair to Dr. Royce, by giving his ideas in his own language; but also in order to do myself the pleasure of repeating some particularly fine utterances on a great theme.

Dr. Royce says that there are two answers, especially to be considered, to the question, "What is vital in Christianity?"

"The first answer may be stated as follows: What is vital about Christianity is simply the spiritual attitude and the doctrine of Christ, as he himself taught this doctrine and this attitude in the body of his authentic sayings and parables, and as he lived all this out in his own life" (p.422).

"The second answer is as follows: What is vital about Christianity depends upon regarding the mission and the life of Christ as an organic part of a divine plan for the redemption and salvation of man" "In brief, what is vital to Christianity includes an acceptance of the two cardinal doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement" (pp. 423-424).

He takes pains to guard these two answers against being unworthily understood. He says:

"Each of these answers is an effort to rise above the levels wherein either religious practice or intellectual belief is over-emphasized".

He says that the first answer does not indicate

"a willingness to degrade Christ to the level of a mere teacher of morals, and Christianity to a mere practice of good works".

He says that the second answer does not

"make true religion wholly dependent upon the acceptance of certain metaphysical opinions regarding the super-human nature of Christ" "Both view Christianity as a faith which gives sense to life, and also as a mode of life which is centred about a faith" (pp. 424-425).

By way of defining more precisely the relations between these two answers he adds:

"The question is simply this: Is the gospel which Christ preached, that is, the teachings recorded in the authentic sayings and parables, intelligible, acceptable, vital, in case you take it by itself? Or, does Christianity lose its vitality in case you cannot give a true sense to the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement . . . ? And furthermore, can you, in the light of modern insight, give any longer a reasonable sense to the traditional doctrines of the atonement and the incarnation? . . . Is Christianity essentially a religion of redemption . . . ? Or is Christianity simply that religion of the love of God and the love of man which the sayings and the parables so richly illustrate?" (p. 425).

This statement of the question by Dr. Royce is sufficiently clear, is it not? His answer to the question is equally explicit, and is equally made unmistakable by being repeated in varying forms. If Dr. Royce had stopped with his statement of the question, I suppose that everybody would have felt certain as to how he would answer it. When you know that a man is from Harvard, and when you further know that he regards all the New Testament statements concerning the incarnation and the atonement as legendary, what can you expect but that he will deny that the religious doctrine taught in these legends can be anything very vital? Here comes in the surprise. This is not the reply that Dr. Royce makes. His reply is the opposite of this, and is as emphatic as language can make it. Note his words:

"Yet, as a student of philosophy, coming in no partisan spirit, I must insist that this reduction of what is vital in Christianity to the so-called pure Gospel of Christ, as he preached it and as it is recorded in the body of the presumably authentic sayings and parables, is profoundly unsatisfactory" (p. 426).

This proposition he argues in full, reaching conclusions which he states as follows:

"I conclude then, . . . that a simple return to" that which is "directly and fully expressed in the sayings of Christ . . . is an incomplete and therefore inadequate religious ideal. . . . The transformation of the

inner life which the sayings teach is . . . a vital part of Christianity. But it is by no means the whole of what is vital to Christianity". "What is most vital to Christianity is contained in whatever is essential and permanent about the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement". "The original teaching of the master regarding the kingdom of heaven . . . is not so vital, is not so central, is not so essential to mature Christianity as are the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement when these are rightly interpreted" (pp. 432-433).

In these statements Dr. Royce is careful to limit his adherence to the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement by the phrase, "when these are rightly interpreted". Presently we will compare his interpretation with that of the orthodox tradition. But nothing in the comparison can change the fact that in the incarnation and the atonement he finds something—something, whatever it may be—more vital than even spiritual attitude and transformation of life.

II. The significance of this advocacy of the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement consists partly in the circumstance that it comes to us out of a certain atmosphere. Were it from some pen at Princeton it would be simply the thing that one might expect. But it comes from a man who accepts some of the New Testament statements concerning Jesus and his teachings as authentic, because it is easier to account thus for them than to account for them as inventions; but who rejects more than half the New Testament statements, including some which he regards as having been made by Jesus himself; whose theological views are as unlike the orthodox tradition as are his critical views; who says of himself and of like-minded men:

"The Christ whom the traditional doctrines of the atonement and of the incarnation present to us appears in the minds of most of us as the Christ of the legends of the early church,—a being whose nature and whose reported supernatural mission seem to be involved in doubtful mysteries. . . . The modern mind has come to be unwilling to accept as . . . historical . . . certain

well known legends. . . . I myself believe it to be a perfectly reasonable unwillingness" (p. 433).

Comparing the idea of Christianity as a life with the idea of Christianity as centering in the incarnation and the atonement, he says:

"On the one hand the Christ of the historically authentic sayings,— . . . ; on the other hand the Christ of legend, whom it is impossible for us modern men longer to conceive as the former ages of the church often conceived him".

"The doctrine in question seems to be, at least in the main, unknown to the historic Christ, in so far as we can learn what he taught, while both the evidence for the traditional doctrine and the interpretation of it have rested during Christian history upon reports which our whole modern view of the universe disposes many of us to regard as legendary, and upon a theology which many of us can no longer accept as literally true" (pp. 427, 426).

Dr. Royce frequently uses the word "Christ" as a proper name. He says that Jesus regarded himself as "the Messiah of his people". Yet he repudiates with contempt the position of any one who

"to-day can still find a place for the Messianic hopes and for the doctrine of the last judgment in his own interpretation of Christianity" (pp. 429-430).

In this case note that what he rejects is not something which he regards as legendary, but something which he regards as the opinion of Jesus himself. With him it is a matter not of self-conceit, but of simple sound judgment, that he regards himself as qualified to deny certain things which Jesus affirmed, and to complete certain teachings of Jesus by showing that they had implications which Jesus himself did not understand. He says that the teachings imply the doctrine of a divine-human redemption, although this doctrine was "unknown to the historic Christ" (pp. 426ff). The noteworthy phenomenon in the case is that a man who believes that the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement were unknown to Jesus, and who holds that all the direct mention of them in the New Testament is mere legend, should nevertheless defend these doctrines as being that in Christianity which is most vital.

III. Glance now at the arguments with which Dr. Royce supports his thesis. First comes the argument just mentioned, from the implications in what he regards as the authentic teachings of Jesus. I must not take time to sketch this argument, but Dr. Royce emphasizes by repetition the idea that the teachings of Jesus imply more than they explicitly state, and that the true ideas of incarnation and atonement are thus implied. To me his argument seems absolutely incongruous with his own critical presuppositions, but as an argument proving a conclusion it is lucid and decisive. The life and teachings and sufferings of Jesus, even after you have excised from them all direct testimony as to the divine-human redemption, still teach that truth by inevitable implication.

His principal argument, however, is philosophical. He starts with the proposition that "The truth about the incarnation and the atonement seems to me to be statable" (p. 438). By way of stating it he first defines his idea of God. If there is a position common to pantheism and theism, that seems to be the position he occupies. "On purely rational grounds", he says, "God and his world are one" (p. 440). He describes his view as his "own formulation of" "what is called philosophical idealism", of "the theory of the Divine Immanence".

By way of defining he distinguishes God from "the world of our usual experience", from the world "as our sciences study it", which, he says, "is but a beggarly fragment of the truth". The world which he identifies with God is

"the entire world, of which our known world is a fragment,—the totality of what is, past, present, and future, the totality of what is physical and of what is mental, of what is temporal and what is enduring". "Like the logos of the fourth gospel, this entire world is not only with God, but is God".

By way of limiting such statements as these he perpetually speaks of God as real, as living, as conscious, as "a spirit and a person", as knowing and choosing. God "is infinitely more than any finite system of natural facts

or of human lives can express". "This unity is not a dead natural fact. It is the unity of a conscious life". He speaks of the "entire world" as "present at once to the eternal divine consciousness as a single whole", as being "what he is conscious of choosing as his own life". He speaks of "the relation of the real individual human person to the real God" (pp. 434, 438, 439, 440).

Having thus explained his idea of God, he turns to the problem of evil. "Why, then, if the world is the divine life embodied, is there so much evil in it?" (p. 440). Under this question he discusses admirably the problem of human vicarious suffering. He speaks of "the true and highest values of the spiritual world" as consisting in "the triumph over suffering, over sorrow, and over unreasonableness". He says that these values appear "in our human lives in three forms". In their lowest form they appear when we practice fortitude under suffering. In a higher form they appear when we sympathize with others and become their comrades in suffering. But there is a still higher form of them—that which is exhibited by those "who are willing to suffer vicariously, to give their lives a ransom for many" (p. 443). This idea he expresses more fully in other passages.

"When one is willing to suffer vicariously . . . ills that he might have avoided, but that the cause to which he is loyal, and the errors and sins that he himself did not commit, call upon him to suffer in order that the world may be brought nearer to its destined union with the divine" (pp. 440-441).

"There is never any completed spiritual triumph over sorrow which is not accompanied with the willingness to suffer vicariously; . . . to force one's very sorrow to be an aid to the common cause of all mankind" (p. 445).

When we have before us these two ideas—first the idea of God as personal and conscious, immanent in the universe and thus identical with the universe, and second the idea of human vicarious suffering, we have the elements of Dr. Royce's interpretation of the doctrines of the incarnation

and the atonement. This principle of vicarious suffering, he declares, is a principle for the universe and for God, as well as for men.

"Perfect through suffering,—that is the universal, the absolutely necessary law of the higher spiritual life. It is a law that holds for God and for man" (p. 441).

This idea he expands into fuller statements.

"The true doctrine of the incarnation and of the atonement is, in its essence, simply the conception of God's nature which this solution of the problem of evil requires. First, God expresses himself in this world of finitude, incarnates himself in this realm of human imperfection, . . . that through finitude and imperfection, and sorrow and temporal loss, he may win in the eternal world (that is, precisely, in the conscious unity of his whole life) his spiritual triumph over evil" (p. 444).

To prevent misunderstanding he explains that the doctrine of the incarnation, as thus understood, is not merely the doctrine of God immanent in us, nor the doctrine of "the natural divinity of man". As distinguished from these it is the doctrine "that God will be born in us and through our consent", transmuting "transient and temporal values into eternal meanings" (p. 444). This idea of God being born in us he illustrates from the preaching of Eckhart the mystic. He might equally well have illustrated it from the familiar Christmas hymn of Phillips Brooks:

"No ear may hear his coming,
But in this world of sin,
Where meek souls will receive him still,
The dear Christ enters in.
O holy child of Bethlehem!
Descend to us we pray;
Cast out our sin, and enter in;
Be born in us this day".

In further explanation concerning the atonement he says:

"The true doctrine of the atonement seems to me simply this: We . . . are destined to win our union with the divine only through learning to triumph over our own evil, . . . This conquest we never accomplish alone. As the mother that bore you suffered, so the world suffers for

you and through you and in you until you win your peace in union with the divine will. . . . When you sorrow, then, remember that God sorrows,—sorrows in you, since in all your finitude you still are part of his life; sorrows for you, . . . ; and sorrows, too, in waiting for your higher fulfilment, since indeed the whole universe needs your spiritual triumph for the sake of its completion" (pp. 444-445).

Such is the interpretation which Dr. Royce gives to the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement, regarded as eternal and vital truths. Let us complete the account by observing where he classifies himself as compared with other thinkers, and how he regards his view in its relation to the New Testament records.

His classification of himself is expressed in the statement that the men who "in various ages of the church, and in various ways", have taught the doctrine of the "Essential Christ" as distinguished from the historical Christ "have been nearing in various degrees the comprehension of what is vital in Christianity" (p. 438).

His idea of the New Testament accounts of the incarnation and the atonement is easily understood. He regards these accounts as purely legendary, but as efforts of the religious consciousness of the early church to set forth the truth—the truth of which men in past ages have sometimes had dim glimpses, but which the modern mind is now at last able to formulate. He says:

"Whatever is vital in Christianity concerns in fact the relation of the real individual human person to the real God. To the minds of the people whose religious tradition we have inherited the relation first came through the symbolic interpretation that the early church gave to the life of the master". "I personally regard the supernatural narratives . . . simply as symbols,—the product indeed of no man's effort to deceive, but of the religious imagination of the great constructive age of the early church. . . . The truth which lies behind these symbols is capable of a perfectly rational statement, . . . is independent of the legends. It relates to eternal spiritual facts" (pp. 437-438).

"These miraculous reports are best understood when we indeed first dwell upon them lovingly and meditatively, but . . . view them as symbols, . . . and thereby learn to interpret the actually definite, and to my mind unquestionably superhuman and eternal, truth that these legends express, . . . The tale is not literally true. But its deeper meaning may be absolutely true. . . . It is the office of religion to interpret truths which are in themselves perfectly definite, eternal and literal, but to interpret them to us by means of a symbolism which is the product of the constructive imagination of the great ages in which the religions which first voiced these truths grew up. There are some truths which our complicated natures best reach first through instinct and intuition, through parable and legend. . . . But . . . we may also hope, in the fullness of our own time, to comprehend these truths by a clearer insight into the nature of that eternal world which is indeed about and above us all" (p. 435).

"Now all this teaching is old". He says that it was the earliest teaching of the church in the matter. "When later it said, 'In the God-man Christ God suffered, once for all and in the flesh, to save us; in him alone the Word became flesh and dwelt among us', the forms of its religious imagination were transient, but the truth of which these forms were the symbol was everlasting. And we sum up this truth in two theses; First, God wins perfection through expressing himself in a finite life and triumphing over and through its very finitude. And secondly, our sorrow is God's sorrow. . . . Our fulfilment, like our existence, is due to the sorrow and triumph of God himself. These two theses express, I believe, what is vital in Christianity" (p. 445).

IV. The views thus presented are open to comment.

1. A satisfactory thing is that Dr. Royce presents his view as being mainly an old one. He is simply trying to formulate more carefully certain truths which the Church has always recognized.

Note an instance or two in addition to those already given. He says that the conception of God which he defines is "the view of the divine nature which the church has always more or less intuitively felt to be true", though

some parts of his own formulation of it "have been upon occasion formally condemned as heresy" (p. 439). He says that his "solution" of the "problem of evil" "has long since been in substance grasped and figured forth in symbolic forms by the higher religious consciousness of our race" (p. 440). In regard to certain elements in the view he presents he says:

"There has always existed in the Christian church a tradition tending to emphasize the conception that the supernatural work of Christ, which the church conceived of in the form of the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement, was not a work accomplished once for all at a certain historical point of time, but . . . perhaps, that it ought to be viewed as a timeless fact, which never merely happened, but which is such as to determine anew in every age the relation of the faithful to God" (p. 435).

He says that though the Church has at times condemned something of this sort as heretical, nevertheless "such opinions have in fact entered into the formation of the official dogmas". He might have added that the current thought of the Church conceives of the "work of Christ" as being both "a work accomplished once for all" and "a timeless fact", the two conceptions not being contradictory.

In our time, when one is so often exasperated by hearing some inferior statement of an old truth exploited as if it were a modern discovery, it is refreshing to note how really great thinkers like Dr. Royce pursue the opposite course. In the highest degree laudable is the ambition to formulate the old truths more perfectly.

2. In the mind of Dr. Royce God is a reality, and in the incarnation and the atonement are not mere ideas, but facts, and facts of the most practical character. He has no use for "the god-concept" as a substitute for God. He does not resolve God into a notion of "the universe in its ideal-achieving capacity". Whether or no you regard his theism as perfectly satisfactory, it is at all events pronounced. To the citations already made add the following, taken from the most distinctively pantheistic passage in the article.

"In the course of infinite time a divine plan, an endlessly complex and yet perfectly definite spiritual idea gets expressed in the lives of countless finite beings and yet with the unity of a single universal life" (p. 440).

Verbally this is very unlike the answers to the Catechism questions, "What is God?" "What are the decrees of God?"; but it would be interesting to work out the question how far the two really differ.

3. Dr. Royce is profoundly correct in recognizing the fact that there is an element of symbol in our finite utterances concerning God. All thinking persons are conscious of this. In the book of Job Zophar asks:

"Canst thou by searching find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection?"

Finite minds cannot adequately express the infinite. If we speak of God we have to speak anthropomorphically. This fact has three bearings on such an article as that of Dr. Royce.

First, it should affect his estimate of the doctrines heretofore held. The men who have formulated or held these traditions have mostly been men who were conscious of these human limitations, and what they have said should be understood accordingly. It is not fair play needlessly to put mechanical interpretations on their utterances; though it is of course true that among the millions who have spoken on these subjects some have uttered wooden ideas. As compared with what inferior men have published, this paper of Dr. Royce is singularly free from the assumption that all orthodox thinking is mechanical.

Second, Dr. Royce is evidently aware that he himself is far from having escaped the limitations that attend human thinking. He holds that the truth behind the symbols is "statable", "is capable of a perfectly rational statement", that we may hope that it will yield to the "clearer insight" of the modern mind; but his own statement of it is not intelligible apart from symbol. The statement that "God expresses Himself in this world of finitude, incarnates Himself in this realm of human imperfection" is not a bit less

symbolical than the statement that "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us". It is only by a hard struggle with phrases that Dr. Royce retains the pantheistic idea in his doctrine of vicarious suffering; his thought constantly slips the pantheistic leash. He says that God and the "eternal world" are identical; and yet he tells us that "God expresses himself in this world of finitude" in order that he may "win" something in the eternal world (p. 444). We, being parts of the eternal world are identical with God, and yet "God sorrows in you, . . . sorrows for you, . . . sorrows, too, in waiting for your higher fulfilment". We are "destined to win our union with the divine" (p. 444). Great souls willingly suffer "that the world may be brought nearer to its destined union with the divine" (p. 441).

With all its alleged advances in insight the modern mind still has to use human phrases when it speaks of the divine.

And third, an event is not necessarily legendary because it is symbolical. The doctrine of the "essential Christ" is a positive doctrine; why should it be coupled with a denial of any New Testament fact in regard to the historical Christ? If one holds that divine-human redemptive suffering is one of the eternal principles of the universe, how should that prevent his holding that the sufferings of Jesus Christ, once for all, were a unique expression of this principle? If one regards the divine-human redemption as a "timeless fact" "which never merely happened" (p. 435), but is always happening, he may nevertheless hold that it actually happened, uniquely, in one supreme instance. Some facts are as well fitted to be symbols as legend can possibly be. If the incarnation and the atoning death are facts, they are not for that reason any the less symbols of any truths for which they stand. A typical fact is a symbol of the highest order.

4. Dr. Royce's interpretation of the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement includes, as we have seen, a doctrine of vicarious human suffering. What may be dis-

tinctively called vicarious suffering, by human beings for human beings, is suffering voluntarily undertaken by the sufferer, not incurred by his heedlessness or his misdoing. It is suffering to which he is providentially and divinely called, not that which he undertakes lightly or foolishly. It is suffering for the benefit of others, and it includes, often, the rescuing of men from evil consequences which they had incurred through their own wrong-doing. All that is finest in common life is more or less connected with vicarious suffering of this type; and the most conspicuous noble deeds in history have been instances of the same type.

Dr. Royce does not present this as a new idea, and it is not new. It is the old familiar argument from the analogies of experience, by which the advocates of the doctrine of the atonement have defended that doctrine when it was attacked. Barring possible differences in theistic conceptions, what Dr. Royce says concerning fortitude and sympathetic comradeship in suffering, and concerning vicarious underserved suffering for the salvation of others, has its place in the orthodox theories of the atonement as well as in the theory of Dr. Royce. Of course we all welcome this timely restatement of this truth.

5. When Dr. Royce broadens this idea of human vicarious suffering, saying that it is a law for God and the universe as well as for men, and identifying it with the Christian doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement, it is less easy to pronounce a simple judgment concerning his view, or to compare it with other views that have been held. One or two points, however, are clear.

By the very terms which he uses he plants himself on the Evangelical side. He holds that the men who have advocated the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement have been in the right, however mistaken they may have been in some of their interpretations. It follows that those who deny or ignore these doctrines are in the wrong. Presumably he expects little sympathy for the view he has presented except in the orthodox ranks.

Among Evangelical teachers the present tendency is to accept a good many different theories of the atonement as presenting each some important aspect of a great and many-sided truth. Dr. Royce's view is hardly of this character. Persons who hold narrowly to the idea that the incarnation and the atonement are merely an object lesson in the duty of self-sacrifice for others will have no trouble in squaring their ideas with those of Dr. Royce. Many of us, however, have a conception of right and wrong as well as of good and evil; a conception of justice as well as of forbearance and kindness; a conception of reward and punishment as respectively expressing approval of right and disapproval of wrong; an idea of the forgiveness of sins as well as of the alleviation of discomforts. Dr. Royce's presentation does not necessarily exclude any of these, but it does not specifically include them. It is not easy to decide how far his silences indicate that his opinions differ from ours.

The New Testament and the Evangelical theology emphasize not the sufferings of Christ, but His death, His blood, the cross; Dr. Royce, like many individual Evangelical teachers, emphasizes the sufferings. We emphasize the idea of substitution in the work of Christ, the idea coming into the problem in more ways than one; how far Dr. Royce does this we need not undertake to decide further than to note that all vicarious suffering is in a very real sense substituted suffering.

However the view of Dr. Royce may compare with the Evangelical view, he claims to have proved, on purely rational grounds, that vicarious suffering is the law of the universe; that for mankind, in virtue of the truth of the immanence of God, this amounts to redemption through divine-human suffering; and that the New Testament and the Church, teaching these propositions in the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement, have essentially taught the truth. If he does not accept the whole Evangelical doctrine, he at least accepts the parts of it which have

given most offense. As against all to whom the cross is a stumblingblock he vindicates its right to stand as the most vital of religious emblems.

His argument for this particular position is invincible. Independent of any differences that may exist in our understanding of the matter, he is profoundly in the right in his appraisal of the incarnation and the atonement as more vital than even the ethics of Jesus. His position is representative. A person who is really in earnest, and to whom religion is a reality cannot forever be content to think of religion as a mere sentimental annex to good morals, or as mainly a higher form of amusement which human beings instinctively devise for themselves. The utterance of Dr. Royce should be welcomed as a timely protest against the current superficiality in religious thinking, as a reinforcement to the ranks of those who are contending for seriousness and reality in religion.

6. As between Dr. Royce's doctrine and the doctrine as commonly held by Evangelical people, there arise questions of relative utility. From the point of view of one who agrees with him in regard to the incarnation and the atonement, is there anything better for an ordinary person to do than simply to accept these doctrines as they are stated in the New Testament? Is there any better way of stating them—stating them for the purposes of a religion for persons of all sorts and conditions—than the New Testament way? Religious statements are needed for persons of all types of culture; Dr. Royce would not claim that his own statements are suited to any persons save those of one type of culture; how would he make provision for others? I think that he would be surprised if he found as much as one person who should understand what he has said exactly as he himself intended it. I think that he would not be surprised if many intelligent persons, reading what he has said, should have a different understanding of it from that which he intended. This is not indicative of lack of lucidity on his part, but of the difficulty of making

our ideas intelligible in these regions of refined thinking. If the conclusions which Dr. Royce has reached are true, there is need that these truths be made intelligible to persons unaccustomed to speculative subtleties. One can hardly be sure whether Dr. Royce would not be content to express the doctrine of the incarnation and the atonement in the forms in which the Church has commonly expressed them, provided it were understood that the expressions are symbols rather than absolute statements of fact. The New Testament statements and the other orthodox formulas have always been regarded as attempts to express the infinite in finite language, and therefore as having a certain symbolical character. They are pedagogically adapted for being held in the memory, so as to be mentally digested. Dr. Royce finds that, as symbols, they convey to his mind the great truths of the divine-human redemption. He would doubtless join in the affirmation that millions upon millions of persons who were not up in the mysteries of pantheistic theism have to some extent assimilated the biblical teachings concerning the atonement and the incarnation, and have found them spiritually nourishing. Is there anything better than this for most persons to do?

7. One more point. How do the conclusions of Dr. Royce agree with his presupposition that the parts of the New Testament which speak of the incarnation and the atonement are legendary? Is he correct in regarding these as legend, having only a symbolical value; or is the Evangelical tradition correct in regarding them as true to fact, though having also the value of symbol through their being the expression of infinite truths in finite language? Are these parts of the Jesus narrative fiction, or are they typical fact?

The passages which teach this doctrine of a divine-human redemption, of the incarnation and the atonement, are not confined to the Gospel of John, or to parts of the New Testament which the critics of any school may regard as the latest. To say nothing of the Synoptic Gospels,

these passages are found in the Acts in the record of the earliest teachings of the apostles, and in several of the earlier Epistles. On strictly critical grounds there is no reason why one should regard the record of the ethical teachings of Jesus as authentic, but the records concerning the incarnation and the atonement as legendary. No one can adduce any strong reason for regarding them as legendary except as he first assumes that the superhuman element in them renders them incredible.

But Dr. Royce says that the superhuman fact in them is not incredible. He affirms, "on purely rational grounds", that what we know concerning the incarnation and the atonement is "unquestionably superhuman and eternal truth" (p. 435). In the wide margin which he recognizes between the "entire universe" and the fragmentary universe known to our science there is plenty of room for the superhuman, no matter what theory of miracle one holds. To him the spiritual nature of God and the divine-human redemption, as set forth in the New Testament, are not incredible, but are indubitable facts; to this extent these alleged legendary parts of the New Testament are true to fact. Where, then, in these passages, shall one draw the line between what is fact and what is fiction? One who disbelieves in the superhuman may well count these passages as legendary, but how can Dr. Royce count them so?

When he says that these great truths of the incarnation and the atonement are implied in the teachings and the conduct of Jesus, so that a modern man can reasonably infer them from those teachings and that conduct, but that they were probably unknown to the historical Jesus, he says something that will seem more improbable the more you consider it. If Jesus lacked some of the advantages which the modern man has, he had nevertheless a greater mind and keener insight than most modern men, and he knew what his teachings implied quite as well as any modern man does.

If divine-human redemption is a fact. so also its being

made known to men is a fact. How was it made known? Clearly it is in some sense a revelation from the Supreme Power. The Evangelical view is that the Supreme Power especially revealed it through the words and actions of certain exceptionally gifted persons, namely Jesus and his first disciples, and that we have the authentic record of these; Dr. Royce says that the record is not authentic, but is "the product . . . of the religious imagination of the great constructive age of the early church". When he says this he is not very intelligible. If a person regards the ideas of the incarnation and the atonement as themselves fanciful, he may naturally attribute them to the fancies of everybody and nobody; but if he regards them as vital truths he is precluded from disposing of the matter in this light way.

What is the "imagination" of an "age" save the imagination of the persons who live in that age; the imagination of a few leaders supplemented by that of many followers? And who are more likely than Jesus and Paul and John and the others to have been the leaders in whose imaginations these pictures arose?

If these alleged legends were constructed for the purpose of teaching the great truth of the divine-human redemption, how about the question whether the men who constructed them knew that truth? Which was the earlier in their minds, the truth illustrated or the story by which they illustrated it? Could they have invented the story without having first perceived the truth? The more you think of it the surer you will be that these records did not originate in the dead level of a gregarious myth-making imagination, but that they have reached us as the product of one or a few great constructive minds, stirred by an inspiration not paralleled elsewhere. How else could they have taught these vital truths, nearly two millenniums before the Modern man arose to expound them?

If you feel contempt for the doctrine of a divine-human redemption, you may perhaps make that a reason for repudiating the passages that teach it. But if you accept

the doctrine have you any really valid reason for doubting the authenticity of the passages? It will hardly be claimed that the critical details are decisive except as one marshals them under the lead of some historical or theological theory. Unless you regard their religious teachings as absurd, why should you regard these parts of the record as unhistorical? You accept the parables as the correctly reported utterances of a real person, because it is easier to account for them thus than in any other way; on the whole does not the reasoning apply equally to the parts of the New Testament which make the bringing in of the divine-human redemption to be that which is most vital in the mission of Jesus? If you reject the redemption idea, that will of course involve your rejecting the statements that affirm it; but if not, what ground have you for denying that the statements are true to fact?

In fine, Dr. Royce has made good his position. To minds that accept the Christian idea of God, and that have centuries of Christian heredity and training back of them, it is possible for Philosophy to prove that the divine-human redemption is the most vital thing in religion. Whether Dr. Royce would have been able to prove this if it had not first been revealed in the Scriptures is another question. On another point there is no room for question. Philosophy has taken possession of this citadel in the name of the Evangelical truth. It cannot hold the citadel unless it is willing also to defend the outworks—to defend the other essentially connected Evangelical doctrines, including the doctrine of the truthfulness of the Scriptures.

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REVIEWS OF RECENT LITERATURE

PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE.

THE WORLD A SPIRITUAL SYSTEM. An Outline of Metaphysics. By JAMES S. SNOWDEN, D.D., LL.D. The Macmillan Company. Pp. 316. Cloth 12 mo. Price \$1.50 net.

The closing paragraph of Rudolph Eucken's great work, *The Problem of Life*, is an eloquent and timely plea for the study of Metaphysics.

"We feel", he says, "with increasing force the need to synthesize life afresh; the need of some unifying, sustaining system of ideas . . . We must have recourse to Metaphysics."

It is certain that our intense and absorbing devotion each man to his own special, and mostly narrow, field has made us near-sighted. Or in the familiar figure "We cannot see the wood for the trees."

We hear a good deal of the revival of interest in philosophy, but the evidence of such a revival is not abundant. The fruit of such revival as there may be is not very satisfactory. Much of it is unsatisfactory because it is so evidently partial and partisan; often a mere scrap of metaphysics dragged in to flavor a novel or sustain some scheme of sociology or therapeutics.

Many of the most readable contributions to the discussion of philosophic subjects are the work of enthusiastic amateurs who take us on pleasant excursions, but keep near the shore and avoid the high seas of Metaphysics very carefully. Even the best of our philosophers seem to have lost heart and are ready to leave the high seas altogether and settle down in some snug harbor, like Pragmatism, for the rest of their days. Others drift over the line that separates philosophy from poetry, and cruise about in the pleasant waters of verse.

Still the situation is not hopeless. Indeed it is the more hopeful because it is so unsatisfactory. The need of more serious, sane and patient study of Metaphysics has become obvious; and the world's need is ever the scholar's opportunity, therefore we hope for better things in the near future. The psychologist and physiologist and moralist and physicist are crying aloud for the metaphysician to put their work together—to show the plans and specifications of the world.

And we have not only hope, but some achievements to encourage us. Such men as James and Paulsen and Eucken are a great deal to have in one generation. And it is with joy as well as hope that we

see one of our sanest and boldest thinkers taking his pen in hand in this good cause.

He gains our good will, first of all, by writing English that can be read with pleasure. We may not be able to agree with all he says; but we can at least parse it, and that is a good deal.

His thinking is straight and consistent. It is not all easy reading of course—it requires more than large type to enable one to read Philosophy—but the reader who brings an earnest mind and fair intelligence to the reading will have no trouble and much pleasure.

He has the courage of his convictions; does not evade the difficulties; does not select his ground, but comes out into the open and defends his positions fairly.

He is devout and shows a fitting reverence for the sublime themes which he discusses. It may be only our taste, but we dislike the fellow who makes jokes about the solar system or is "smart" in his remarks on the universe.

The doctrine taught is distinctly idealistic monism; or as he would prefer to call it, personal monism.

The purpose of the book is expository. It does not attempt to review all systems of philosophy, but to present and expound the truth as he sees it.

About half of the book is a statement of the idealist's view of the universe. This is admirably presented under these chapters.

1. The Nature of Metaphysics.
2. The World from Different View Points.
3. The Subjectivity of Sensation.
4. The Subjectivity of Space.
5. The Subjectivity of Time.
6. Subjective Reality.
7. How we reach Objective Reality.

Thus far he keeps the main road, following Paulsen for the most part, and aiming only at making intelligible the doctrine taught by idealists generally.

Chapter eight, on the Nature of Objective Reality is, perhaps, the most original and valuable part of the book. The World as Life. The World as Thought, The World as Sensibility and the World as Will are great essays on these great themes.

Chapter nine is the culmination of the work. Here he discusses the World and God and reaches conclusions that are momentous, e. g. "The material universe is a mode of divine activity". "The soul is derived from God. . . . The soul comes into being in the phenomenal world by a process of evolution. . . . Human souls have reached a point of separation from the divine mind and have passed into personality. . . . Yet we are not to suppose human souls ever become ontologically separate from God. . . . The relation of God and finite spirits is one of reciprocal immanence; God is in all souls and all souls are in God."

The closing chapter on Application of Idealism discusses five subjects.

1. The Relation of Mind and Body.
2. Immortality.
3. The Problem of Evil.
4. Idealism and Religion.
5. Idealism of Life.

These, especially 2 and 3, are, perhaps, the best written portions of the book, but perhaps also the most open to attack on philosophic grounds.

It is not for the critic to determine the question whether the author sustains his thesis. This is the function of the jury of intelligent readers. But as judge charging the jury we may remark.

1. It is not possible to present a complete system of Metaphysics and also to defend it at every point in one small volume. This book presents such a system clearly, consistently and in fair proportions; it does not attempt to prove everything, and necessarily assumes a good deal that will be disputed by those who are not idealists.

2. The advocate of idealistic monism labors under a great disadvantage in that he must present his case in language that is thoroughly dualistic. It is impossible to find words that are neutral for many of his most fundamental ideas.

3. The unsettled state of psychology is also most embarrassing. No system of Metaphysics can be established without a clear definition of the soul. It must be regarded as either a substance—thing-in-itself—or a stream of consciousness. This question is especially important in a system which rests fundamentally on the soul as the one and only "bit of reality" known to us directly.

4. The difficulty of avoiding the conclusions of pantheism is a real difficulty. Having accepted matter as "a mode of divine activity" it is not easy to find firm ground for personality. In this work the most difficult pages are 205 ff, following the conclusion of 204.

5. The fact that many—perhaps the majority—of our greatest students of philosophy are idealists and mostly monists, does not go far to prove that idealism is the true view; but it does establish a presumption that it is not an absurd theory to be laughed out of court, or treated with contempt.

It may be that the reaction from positivism and practical materialism has carried us too far; but this remains to be proved.

6. The chief practical value of Dr. Snowden's work is its adaptability to the needs of all men who have an interest in philosophy, but are not deeply read in the subject. The book is not merely elementary, but it is distinctly preparatory and introductory; an ideal book for use in colleges, provided they are not afraid of "corrupting" the minds of students with the visions of idealism.

S. A. MARTIN.

APOLOGETICAL THEOLOGY.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE. By EDWARD SCRIBNER AMES, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Philosophy in the University

of Chicago. 8vo.; pp. xii, 428. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. The Riverside Press, Cambridge. 1910. Price, \$2.50 net.

"This work," in the words of the author, "undertakes an investigation of the religious aspect of normal human experience. The point of view employed is that of functional psychology, which is necessarily genetic and social. The method adopted involves the use of much material from anthropology, the history of religion, and other social sciences, but an attempt has been made to organize this material and to interpret it from the psychological standpoint. This hypothesis that religion is the consciousness of the highest social values arose from studies in these fields, and this conception has been strengthened by further investigations. These highest social values appear to embody more or less idealized expressions of the most elemental and urgent life impulses. Religion expresses the desire to obtain life and obtain it abundantly. In all stages the demand is for 'daily bread' and for companionship and achievement in family and community relationships. These cravings constitute the inner continuity and identity of motive in all the diverse types of religion, primitive and modern, Pagan and Christian. The social consciousness arises in every group in the mediation of these needs, in the struggle for existence, and in the aspiration and endeavor to make life more varied, more adequate and more ideal. In their simpler expressions among primitive peoples these cravings struggle blindly, being dominated by rigid custom and by magic. In higher forms they are gradually freed from superstition, and guided by tested experience, and are incorporated in more elaborate symbols."

Dr. Ames's discussion falls into four parts. Part I gives "The History and Method of the Psychology of Religion." This is valuable specially for its full and illuminating presentation of the aim, the process and the characteristic of Functional Psychology. Part II investigates "The Origin of Religion in the Race." This origin it finds in the social customs which had their impulse in food and sex. With regard to these customs the author takes issue with such writers as Jevons and Frazer and Lang. Thus, instead of maintaining, as they do, a radical opposition between magic and religion, Dr. Ames agrees with William Robertson Smith in "finding the distinction between religion and magic only in the fact that the former is social and the latter individual." So, too, with regard to spirits he differs from Tylor and all who, like him, wrote under the influence of the old rational psychology, in that he denies that "man is directly conscious of himself as a spiritual agent and also that this conception of the human soul is the very 'fons et origo' of the conceptions of spirit and deity in general." "The fact seems to be," he says, "that both self and object are fused in one activity and are not contrasted in the actor's mind." "A spirit is an object, sensation, or image, which strikes the attention forcibly." He takes issue again with Jevons and writers like him "who deal with the earliest forms of sacrifice in terms 'of worship'." "Worship," he holds, "suggests an attitude of

reverence and trust toward a 'high God,' which is quite impossible in the primitive stages of human experience." "The idea of the victim being offered to the god is a late development." "The true idea is that it is the god which has been slain in order that his followers may share his life." The conception of sacrifice as an atonement for sin is very late. Even the piacular sacrifices of the Hebrews emphasize rather ceremonial contact with sacred objects. Prayer is stripped of its ordinary significance. "It is as possible to have prayer which is not prayer 'to' some person or thing, as to have sacrifice which is not sacrifice 'to' some person or thing." "No more than speech does prayer presuppose some theory concerning the nature of that to which it seems to be directed." "The earlier prayers were in reality charms operating magically, and lacking for the most part the elements of conversation between persons in the way in which it is usually interpreted."

Part III discusses "The Rise of Religion in the Individual." In this section of his book the writer draws largely on, and in the main follows, such well known authors as Starbuck, James, Coe, King. He denies, for example, "to the mature individual," and much more to the infant, "the possession of a 'soul' in the sense of a substantial and static entity within him." "To believe in infant regeneration he regards as inconsistent and unscientific." Adolescence he holds to be *the* time, if not the only time, for religious awakening, and the reason for this he finds in the marked development during this period of the sexual instinct on the social side. He condemns "the old theories of natural depravity and perversity." Conversion as commonly understood he considers abnormal and reprehensible.

Part IV treats of "The Place of Religion in the Experience of the Individual and Society." This is, perhaps, the most interesting section of the volume. Religion is rightly presented as "involving the entire psychical life." Nevertheless, there is a strong tendency to minimize the intellectual element. Even the importance of the idea of God is depreciated. "The truth of the matter may be put this way: *God is not known, He is not understood; He is used*—(italics the author's). "The 'attributes' in the conception of God are as numerous as the ideal interests of those who use it, for it signifies the totality of our purposes and values." "Doctrines are but working hypotheses, subject to constant modification and revision in the light of further experience and reflection." The same minimizing tendency appears with regard to the place of feeling in religion. As Starbuck and Pratt subordinate ideas to feeling, so Dr. Ames would make both "secondary to the activities of the organism;" and he would regard these as "instinctive and organic and as arising within the life process in the course of the adjustment which it involves." Genius and inspiration he identifies, and he makes them simply the highest result of such adjustment. This he attempts to illustrate and in so far forth establish in the case of the Hebrew prophets. In his own words, "the genius, whatever the sphere of his activity, is an individual of remarkable native ability, profoundly saturated with the social consciousness,

and operating effectively to bring that consciousness to greater clearness and efficiency." On the other hand, "non-religious persons are those who fail to enter vitally into a world of social activities and feelings." That is to say, "the social consciousness, in its most intimate and vital phases, is identical with religion." An interesting, if not always an illuminating, chapter follows on "The Psychology of the Religious Sects." "Each denomination represents a type of personality, a social stratification, which is determined in its original pattern by the economic forces and the personal leadership which fashioned it. Afterwards it aggregates like-minded people to itself and stamps its members with its own marks." The closing chapter is entitled "Democracy and Science." In it we are shown that as "the two most characteristic features of the aspiring life of the present period are the democratic and scientific tendencies," so the distinctive "significance of democracy and science is religious." Hence—and this sums up this whole treatise—"There will be creeds, but they will affirm no more than is really helpful to believe, ritual, but only what is beautiful or edifying; everything must justify itself by function." In a word, pragmatism is the explanation because the essence of religion. It works: that is why it is, and why it is what it is.

Adequate criticism of so large a book as this of Dr. Ames is, of course, impossible within our limits. We can remark only in a general way as follows:

1. The functional psychology, if used as an explanation of religion, is open to the same criticism to which pragmatism in general is exposed as a philosophy. That is, it itself demands explanation. Thus pragmatism finds the test of truth in workability: what will work is true. But what is meant by workability? That depends on the end in view. If it be righteousness, it will be one thing; if it be happiness, it will be another; if it be self-realization, it will be something else; if it be material prosperity, it will again be different: in a word, your conception of workability will be determined by your theory of the highest good. Thus pragmatism, to be a philosophy, must call in another and deeper philosophy; and so it itself is really not a philosophy. Precisely so is it with functional, which might be called pragmatic psychology. This, as our author maintains, is characteristically "voluntaristic." In its lowest terms it is the study of strivings. Strivings, however, mean nothing apart from an end. They are good or bad, they are high or low; and, hence, they are significant and worthy of study, only in view of what is striven after. Nor is this all. They can not be studied simply as strivings, even if we could overlook the unprofitableness of such study—they can not be studied simply as strivings, unless we know what strives and what is striven after. The striving of a dog will not be rightly interpreted even as mere striving, if it be studied as if it were the striving of a man. The hypothesis that religion expresses the effort after adjustment to environment in view of "the highest social values" is unfruitful by itself. We must start with a social being and we must know what are the highest social values. Our standpoint must embrace

the static and the ideal as well as the functional. In a word, even within the sphere of psychology, our author's method is impossible.

2. The problem which he would solve and which he believes himself to have solved is not the problem to be solved. For example, holding as he does that "the origin of religion is to be found in the origin of the social consciousness," he thinks that he has explained religion when he has explained the social consciousness. The fact is, however, that the religious consciousness and the social consciousness are not identical. Doubtless, that is a poor kind of religion which is unsocial, but who has not seen exceedingly religious persons who were very unsocial and social persons who were not religious? That is to say, in becoming social man does not necessarily become religious. On the contrary, the distinguishing mark of all religion, the lowest as well as the highest, is the sense of relation to the Supernatural. Where we have this sense we have religion. When we do not have it, we do not have religion, unless religion be taken in a meaning other than its historical and common one. Now, nothing is more characteristic of Dr. Ames's whole discussion than the way in which he ignores the conception of the Supernatural. He writes a long chapter on "The Development of Religion," including Christianity, and so far as we can discover, there is in it not one reference to the conception of the Supernatural. That is to say, what needs most to be explained he does not try to explain. Because the social consciousness has much to do with determining what objects shall be regarded as supernatural and what shall be the attributes of the Supernatural, he seems to think that the social consciousness is all that there is to account for. He makes the same mistake as does the Associationist Theory of Morals. This may explain why this rather than that is regarded obligatory, but what is to be explained is the idea of obligation; and precisely so, the social consciousness may throw light on the kind of religion prevalent, but the real problem is as to the fact of religion itself.

3. The generalizations and the arguments of our author seem to be determined not so much by facts and logic as by the theory to be supported. Our limits permit only an example or two. Thus he says (quoting Starbuck): "*'One of the most pronounced characteristics of the religion of childhood is that religion is distinctively external to the child rather than something which possesses inner significance'*" (italics his). In the replies I received to the question, What impressions did the church services and the Sunday School make? the most frequent answer was that they made little or no impression at all. 'Up to the age of twelve, I know of no definite impression the church service made on me. I took it as a matter of course.' This, it will be observed, is simply testimony; and it is testimony whose value as proof must be considerably lessened by the fact that those whose experience was different, if there were such, would for that very reason have been unlikely to give their experience. Even the questionnaire of an eminent psychologist of religion would not dispose them to expose anything so sacred. For himself, however, the writer is willing to say under the circumstances, that the sermons which im-

pressed him most, and most inwardly as well as permanently, were those to which he listened before he was twelve years old; that his twelve years in the pastorate convince him that his experience in this respect was in no wise exceptional; and that he does not see why this testimony of his, even as the basis for scientific generalization, is not as good as the opposite. Again, we are told that "the fact that the Bible was the book most commonly printed may be regarded as the cause almost as much as the result of its authority. 'It became at once a primer, a history, and a law book.'" But why was it most commonly printed? It was not the only book. Our author is so bent on denying the supernatural authority of the Bible that he overlooks, if he does not try to obscure, the fact that the Bible was most commonly printed just because of its general acceptance as the supernatural authority; and that the universal circulation of it thus promoted would rather have tended to expose and to refute its claims, had they been false. Once more, Dr. Ames writes: "There is abundant evidence that primitive customs and taboos do not arise from ideas or from systems of belief, and modern psychology has made it possible to account for such usages upon other and far more convincing grounds. Many lines of proof support this view. For example, the replies of savages themselves to inquiries concerning their customs are good evidence that their conduct does not issue from 'ideas' nor depend upon 'reasons.' They simply say, 'It is our custom.' One soon gets tired of the everlasting answer that meets your questioning at every turn, 'It is our custom.'" Because, however, this is the answer given, it does not follow, as Dr. Ames holds, that it must be the true explanation. Doubtless, many customs, whether in the case of savage or of civilized men, are only "reactions to felt needs." We may not, however, conclude from this that they are "non-rational." The appetite to which the custom is a response may be non-rational, as hunger, but the response with which the custom began could not in the case of man be non-rational; for he is essentially a rational being. He must, therefore, in the first instance at least, even take of a particular kind of food because he has the *idea* of the taking of it as fitted to gratify some particular appetency. This is so because his nature is rational and he must act according to his nature. Made to receive ideas and to respond to them, the only final and valid explanation of his acts and even of his customs must be the intellectualistic one. This is confirmed, rather than controverted as Dr. Ames thinks, by "the fact that many different myths or stories will be told by the same savage at different times to account for his custom." This may indicate that "he has no definite theory with reference to his customs," that he cannot recall the ideas in which they originated; but does it not certainly indicate also that there must be a theory, that the custom must have had its genesis in an idea? Were it not so, why would the savage offer so many explanations? Though he cannot suggest a rational one, he feels that there must be one.

4. This whole functional and voluntaristic psychology is as unsatisfactory, to say no more, as it is clever. It aims to show, and to the

merely superficial observer it may show, how even the highest religion is developed out of "the impulses" toward "food and sex." It has not shown, however, and it can not show, why it is that, though all animals are at least as impressionable to "impulses" toward "food and sex" as man is, yet man is the only animal who rises to religion. Is not this the thing to be explained? Can it be explained otherwise than that man is the only animal to whom God has revealed or could reveal himself?

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE. A Contribution to the Scientific Study of Christian Experience and Character. By HORACE EMORY WARNER, M.A., D.D. With Introduction by JOHN R. MOTT, LL.D. 8vo, pp. 401. Fleming H. Revell Company: New York, Chicago, Toronto, London, and Edinburgh. 1910. Price \$1.50 net.

"This is exclusively a psychology of the *Christian* life." It is more. It is an argument for the supernaturalness of that life based on its psychology. "It does not, therefore, purport to be a treatise presenting merely a disinterested discussion of phenomena, without definite conclusions reached, or positive positions taken. Its aim is to show that an intelligent study of all the facts embraced in the field outlined leads to one inevitable culmination: the postulation of supernatural origin to specific psychical processes involved in Christian experience, constituting the experimental Christian life a distinctively supernatural life—it being expressly understood that this supernatural origin is not disorderly or capricious, but evidently acting under some spiritual order well beyond all range of the natural order with which we are familiar. Such supernaturalistic view seems to the author to be the only position tenable, and this conviction gives purpose and form to the entire discussion." Beyond this, the psychology and the argument based on it are distinctively "*Christian*." That is, they admit "the validity of Scriptural insight as a source of reliable information in the psychical area." There are two books: Book I treating of "The Inner Life" of the Christian and Book II, of his "Outer Life." Book I, again, falls into two parts. Part I sets forth "The States of Christian Experience." These are four: first, the "Antecedent States," or those prior to conversion; second, the "Cataclysmic States," or those when "salvation comes through cataclysm;" third, the "State under Christian Nurture," or those when Christian life is experienced through Christian Nurture; and, fourth, the "States in Ascent," or those which express themselves in the progressive stages of growth in grace. Part II takes up the question of "Origins." These it locates in the subliminal consciousness. As they are thus "beyond observation," they must be learned either by psychological inference or from the testimony of Scripture or from both sources. "The Availability of Psychological Inference" is, therefore, considered and established. It is found that the phenomena of the Christian life already set forth warrant three inferences: that "forces are at work in the sub-con-

scious region;" that "they operate under fixed laws;" that "they manifest intelligent qualities." It is also shown that four "erroneous inferences" are drawn: (1) that the phenomena of conversion are "the outcome of adolescent change," which is a conclusion not warranted by the data; (2) that parallel phenomena prove the phenomena of conversion to be "reactive," which phenomena are not really parallel; (3) that incapacity demonstrates these phenomena to be structural, but genuine incapacity is very rare and it warrants no such inference as alleged; (4) that the phenomena originate in "hypnotic suggestion," but this is set aside by "the deplorable results of hypnotic action." Thus we are thrown back for the answer to our inquiry on "Scripture insight." Can, however, the reliability of this be established? It would seem so. It is confirmed by four credentials. Its "diagnoses of psychical disorder," its "prescription for relief," its "definition of processes of relief," its "familiarity with conditions involved"—all prove "the unerring accuracy of Scripture insight in the region of consciousness," and this establishes its "claim upon our credence whenever we find it to speak concerning such occurrences as take place in the depths of the subconscious." "For the difference between these two classes of psychical occurrences, those transpiring in consciousness and those in subconsciousness, is one evidently arising in the limitations of the ordinary powers of human insight. Both are occurrences in the psychical field of kindred, if not identical, nature; their differentiation is one of location, one class transpiring under the light of consciousness, the other in the obscurity of subconsciousness. Indeed, the difficulties arising in the analysis of conscious occurrences are often as insurmountable for ordinary insight as are those pertaining to subconscious processes. A penetration equal to the task of clearing away all such difficulties with reference to conscious psychical activities, as we have seen Scriptural insight to have, may as well be able to do the same for subconscious spiritual occurrences. It should, therefore, be no strain upon the most scrupulous investigation to concede to Scriptural insight the right to speak with authority concerning the subconscious conditions involved in Christian experience, should it so choose." Now this it has done. It testifies, that "the Holy Spirit abides in the psychical field"; that He is "beneath good impulse"; that "He alone regenerates"; that "He confers life and power"; that He "transforms in Christian growth." Book II sets forth "the Outer Life" of the Christian. This is found to correspond with and so to evidence its inward change and power. Christian character and conduct manifest themselves along three lines; personal, evangelistic, sociological: these developments are unique: and through their reaction on psychical facilities and psychical perceptions they point to a future of human progress and glory that must be the eternal demonstration of the wisdom and power of God Himself. Such in brief and very imperfectly is the outline and argument of Dr. Warner's, to say the least, remarkable book.

The following general criticisms are submitted:

1. It is well that this work has been done. During the last ten or

fifteen years treatises on the psychology of religion have been so numerous and so able, that the names of Starbuck and James and Pratt and Hall and Coe and Ames are on the lips even of college students. These writers, however, have approached their subject from a non-Christian standpoint, and it can scarcely be doubted that the influence of their publications has, on the whole, been anti-Christian. Psychological processes are coming to be regarded as explaining away the supernatural in Christian experience. It is, therefore, high time that the "psychology of the *Christian* life" should be set forth, and that this should be done by one who studies it and who portrays it as a Christian. As Schmidt has shown in his *Die Verschiedenen Typen Religiöser Erfahrung und die Psychologie*, "we cannot reach the specifically religious feeling by way of examination of merely assumed kindred moods, analogous feelings, fixed ideas, morbid states of mind." "No one can pass judgment on such a phenomenon as religion"—and this applies preëminently to the Christian religion—"except one who knows it from his own experiences."

2. It is well that this necessary and difficult work has been done so carefully and in the main so satisfactorily as Dr. Warner has done it. He writes out of ample and generally accurate information. He has brought to his task a mind which has had the best modern educational advantages. He has kept abreast of research and discussion on his subject. He shows familiarity with the results and even sympathy with the methods of the masters of the new science of the psychology of religion. "Above all, he has had the absolutely invaluable corrective of a long and fruitful career in the Christian ministry." "His whole life has been spent, therefore, in what might be called the laboratory of Christian observation and experience." His position, moreover, on psychological questions is sound, sounder sometimes than that of his masters. For example, he never falls into the error of many revivalists that God reveals Himself directly in the soul. "In all this wonderful achievement"—he is referring to regeneration and sanctification—"the Holy Spirit," he says, "does not appear in consciousness. There is no direct perception of Him as a person; nor is a single stroke of his actual work perceived in consciousness." The supernatural results necessarily presuppose supernatural activity. The "new creation" demonstrates the Creator, but we do not see or hear him. We are conscious of what must be his direct work, but we are never conscious of him himself. Again, our author avoids the mistake of the many psychologists who would make religion originate in feeling. On the contrary, with Prof. Francis Bowen, he regards "feeling as a state of mind consequent on the reception of some idea." Hence, he says, "Emotion is a psychical reaction occurring on the occasion of the presence in the mind of definite, correlated, perceptive states." So, also, he is sound and clear in his account of the relation of conduct to character. "Mere verbal assertion cannot make character, he says; "persistent profession will not issue in character; conduct alone produces character." His argument, too, impresses us as valid. He meets squarely, as we have seen, the

four inferences on which psychologists rely to explain away the Supernatural in Christian experience, and he proves the worth of Scriptural insight in its affirmation of the Supernatural in Christian life. The "proven accuracy of Scripture insight" in the region of consciousness entitles it to credence when it speaks, as it does, concerning the subconscious. At least, it puts the burden of proof on those who deny its trustworthiness in the latter sphere. It brings it up to the psychologists to show that this sphere differs radically from the other, and this they can not do just because it is subconscious. The case is as though a traveler who had been found to be always and most strikingly correct in his statements regarding a country to which we could go ourselves and so verify them were to tell us of a land which he said that he had visited but to which we ourselves could not go. We should still be bound to believe him, unless it could be shown that what he said was intrinsically incredible. In claiming or in admitting this, moreover, the utmost caution would be necessary. To the Siamese Emperor the statement that there were lakes, the water of which sometimes became so solid that elephants could walk on it seemed impossible. Now the only ground on which the activity of the Supernatural in the subliminal consciousness can be pronounced incredible is the denial of the Supernatural itself. But to deny the Supernatural is to beg the very question at issue. Beyond this, the Christian cannot interpret his experience as he does; i. e., as expressing new spiritual life out of spiritual death, and his causal judgment not insist on a supernatural explanation: and the non-Christian, if logical, must estimate the experience of his Christian friend in the same way; for "an interpretation that conceives of the process of Christian experience as purely automatic, mechanical, unvolitional, save as harmony with the most arbitrary law may be seemingly volitional in a delusive way, takes all sense of direct personal contact with the Spirit of God out of Christian experience, strips it of all warmth of spirituality, leaving it cold and formal, though perhaps admirable as an exact chemical process would be." That is, the purely psychological explanation of Christian experience destroys its character as *Christian* experience. But this at once stamps it as an illegitimate explanation: that can not explain which wipes out what it would account for. In a word, not only does the supernaturalistic explanation given by Scriptural insight seem to be justified by the facts which establish the competency of Scriptural insight, but by the very nature of the case this is the only reasonable explanation. Hence, our author is right when he adds: "We confidently close this study with the conclusion that the final word has been spoken by Scripture insight, and that the ultimate power operative in Christian experience, is the Holy Spirit."

3. And yet this admirable book has defects; and just because it is so admirable, these should be at least pointed out. Thus, it claims too much for its own argument as over against the other arguments for the Christian religion. For example, it is not true that "even if all historic factors were to prove fallacious and be abandoned there

remains a Christ born within." Could there be a Christ born within, if there were not a Christ to be born? And could there be a *Christ* to be born if the Eternal Son of God had not "become flesh" and "fulfilled all righteousness" among us and died and risen and ascended? Is not this what the Scripture means—and Dr. Warner cannot impugn it and not overthrow his own argument—is not this what the Scripture means when it says: "If Christ be not raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins" (I Cor. xv: 17). Again, it is not the fact that the miracle of Christian experience has set aside "the ancient miracles." It is true that the experience of the Christian is miraculous in itself. When we understand what it is, the causal judgment, as we have seen, insists on its supernatural nature and origin. But the difficulty is to make others or ourselves understand what it is. We refuse to recognize its supernatural elements; and it is not strange that we do so, if the Supernatural in nature and in history, i. e., miracle and prophecy, is denied. The truth is that no one argument for Christianity is unimportant. Still less is any one enough. We need them all. It is in and by its *system* of evidences that Christianity makes good its supreme claim. Again, our author's representation of Christian experience and of its implications is not errorless. Thus the reason which he gives why "the states under Christian nurture" differ so radically from the "cataclysmic states" is that "no sin having been committed, there is no forgiveness, no cleansing. There having been no distortion of the spiritual nature by reason of indulgence in sin, there is no regeneration. The soul having never separated itself from the heavenly Father and his family by disobedience, there is no adoption. All that is wrought now in the sub-conscious by the Holy Spirit is consistent with what remains after the complete elimination from the situation of all those conditions which only occur as consequent upon habitual sin. The child fully responsive under Christian nurture needs no conversion and never has any." It would be difficult to find a paragraph more packed with serious mistakes. To refer only to some of those on the surface, we are born "sons of God" instead of being, as Paul says, "by nature the children of wrath, even as others" (Eph. II. 3); when Jesus said to Nicodemus: "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he can not see the kingdom of God" (John III. 3), he should have added that this assertion, though unqualified, had no reference to those brought up in Christian homes; sin is the cause rather than the consequence of corruption of nature; etc., etc. Of course, between the experience of the sinner snatched into the kingdom out of the gutter and the child trained up for the kingdom under Christian influences from the first there will be and must be a great difference, but this will not be because the former has been regenerated and the latter has not been. It will be because the contrast between death and life must in the former, from the nature of the case, reveal itself suddenly and sharply; whereas in the latter it will often do this so gradually and easily as to seem, if we disregard its results, to be only natural. In both, and in both equally, however, the change is essentially the same. It is the passage from the con-

demnation and spiritual death of sin to the glorious liberty and life of the Gospel. Having made these strictures, the reviewer should mention that this paragraph is very exceptiona¹ and that the doctrinal trend of the writer is far from being what from it might have been expected.

It remains only to add that the publishers of Dr. Warner's book have done their work well, and that its usefulness is much enhanced by an excellent index and by many diagrams which really illustrate.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

THE SOCIAL BASIS OF RELIGION. By SIMON N. PATTEN, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Political Economy, University of Pennsylvania. Author of "The New Basis of Civilization", etc. 8vo; pp. xviii, 247. New York: The MacMillan Company. 1911. Price \$1.25 net

"This book is not an apology for religion, but a constructive defence." It is demanded because the old defence, especially of Christianity, has become invalid. This defence was on historical grounds, and "through the increase of knowledge and through better methods of investigation" the historical setting of our religion has been lost, and so the plan of salvation based upon it has fallen into disrepute. Hence, the necessity of a new apologetics and of its transfer from an historical to a social basis. Though the facts have been discredited of which the Christian scheme of redemption has been regarded as the interpretation, its doctrines are as valuable as ever; they meet the most enduring social needs: in a word, Christianity works socially; this is the new and the true apologetics.

We are compelled to take exception to it on the following grounds, not to mention many others:

1. We deny that the Christian plan of salvation has fallen into disrepute. Never since the apostolic age was missionary activity so great as now, and it would seem to be constantly on the increase.

2. We can not admit that the historical basis of Christianity has been undermined. Because our limits forbid any discussion of a subject so big as this, we must simply say that "through the increase of knowledge and through better methods of investigation" this basis seems to have been established more firmly than ever.

3. Were this not so, the philosophy which underlies and determines this new apologetics is false in itself and equally false in its method.

This is so as to its conception of truth. "Truth is to be measured by its effects" (p. 43). "The final test of truth is utility" (p. 53). "There is no criterion of truth except that it is good, and none of error except that it is bad" (p. 47). All of which means, if truth is to be regarded as the correspondence of thought with reality, that there is no truth. The same is the case with our author's conception of the mind. "It is an error to think of the mind as having a definite constitution either in a material or in an immaterial sense. It is not a unit with definite predetermined expression, but is a series of developing functions forced into an imperfect unity by organic growth and external pressure" (p. 151). All of which means that there is no

mind. It is not otherwise as regards the concept of sin. "Evil and sin are either the result of defects in human nature, and hence without a remedy, or they are due to external, that is, economic conditions, that mar human nature by producing abnormalities" (p. 40). All of which means that while there is evil, there is no sin; for sin entails guilt, and guilt is impossible with respect both to what has been created within us and to what results from what is without us. It is the same, too, in the case of the concept of God. "God and man are not distinct in kind" (p. 81). "God is the eternal purpose that runs through events, and not the force that initiates them" (p. 76). "The social God is telic, not functional, and is made manifest in the progress of men and not in their failures" (p. 76). All of which would seem to mean that God is just the ever ascending and enlarging aspiration of human society: that is, He does not make and govern society, but society makes and governs Him; and this implies that, as commonly understood, there is no God. Finally, it is thus also as regards the concept of salvation. "The new birth will come of itself, if men are made normal" (p. 221). "Health, wealth and efficiency are the basis of normal life" (220). All of which means, that misery is the cause of sin rather than sin the cause of misery; that salvation consists in delivering men from misery rather than from sin; and that political economy rather than the Gospel is the truth that makes men free.

We have not space in which to argue the falseness of this philosophy, but we may not pass on without one remark. Whether there is or is not the correspondence between thought and fact which we call truth; whether the mind is or is not a real substantial unit; whether or not there is such a thing as "want of conformity unto or transgression of the law of God"; whether there is or is not an intelligent personal first cause and rational governor of the world; whether He has or has not, through the sacrifice of His Son, provided for man a way of escape from the consequences of his violation of the divine law,—these questions may properly be debated, and either position with regard to them may fairly be held: but to speak of truth when you deny that there is truth; to name that the mind which is the contradiction of it; to describe as sin what rules it out; to talk of God when you have just identified Him with man; to call that the cause of salvation which is its result,—this is to play fast and loose with words in a way that would not be tolerated in business or in politics.

4. The new apologetics' conception of Christianity is as false as we have seen to be the philosophy on which it itself rests. Were its defence valid, it mistakes to the extent of contradicting what it would defend. It conceives of Christ as only a social reformer and of Christianity as merely a social programme. To see in Him "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world" it pronounces impossible. "It is difficult," it says, "to associate Christ with a purely social religion because his teachings have been overshadowed by the striking events of His death. For this reason we do not see the fundamental opposition between what He taught and what His death has been

made to teach. If Christ's doctrines had been handed down to us by a Plato instead of a Paul, or by one who knew only of His life and not of His death, Christ to us would be a social leader, preaching salvation only in terms of love, coöperation and service. Salvation through sacrifice, especially through a blood atonement, would be a repugnant doctrine from the dread of which He wished to free the world. There is nothing more paradoxical in history than the rise of the dogma that a gulf is placed between God and man, which can be bridged, not by love, but only by the death of one who strove to fill the gap in the other way. This glaring antinomy in religious thought must be removed before social religion can be put on a sound basis" (p. 196). Christ, however, was foretold as the divine sacrifice for sin (Is. liii). He was announced as "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world" (St. John i. 29). He said of himself that he came "to minister and to give his life a ransom for many" (St. Matthew xx. 28). At solemn crises in His life He pointed forward to his sacrificial death as the supreme purpose and not merely the close of His earthly career (St. Mark ix. 31). His apostles, in whom and through whom He claimed Himself to speak, constantly referred, as even our author implies, to Christ's sacrificial death as the meaning of His life. It is as "the Lamb that was slain," that the innumerable host of heaven are represented as adoring Him forever and ever (Rev. v). To regard the Gospel, therefore, as simply a scheme of social reform is what is impossible, and to present Christ and not set Him forth as above all the divine atonement for sin is to give Hamlet with Hamlet left out.

5. As might have been expected, the new apologetics ends by substituting another gospel for that of Christ. "There are bound up," it says, "in Christian thought two distinct plans of salvation. The orthodox view has the degenerate conditions of the Roman world as a background. It appeals to the emotional type of man these conditions produced. If instead of saying Christ died for sinners we say He died to redeem the degenerate, we put the problem of this religion in a scientific form. Its emotional awakening creates character and wakes motives, causing the spiritual to dominate over the degenerative forces of a world of deficit. It was this religion that gave new life to the Roman world and supplied the impetus carrying civilization from the pessimistic South to the optimistic North. It is almost a universal religion because degeneration is so widespread and its emotional psychology so deep-seated. It must, however, be regarded as a temporary necessity, approved as a last resort and not as a chosen plan. It does not reflect the religion of the normal man, nor does it manifest the social spirit of Christ's teachings. Another and purer religion lies in the background. This is obscured in the Old Testament by the devices of priests, and in the New by the enthusiasm of Paul's disciples. The normal life of a stabler civilization is helping us to reconstruct it and to put in practice doctrines distinctly Christ's. The Holy Spirit He promised is with us as the social spirit. In it we have a natural guide to conduct and an effective stimulus to coöper-

erative action" (p. 202). That is, the religion to which we are coming is not that which gave new life to the Roman world and supplied the impetus carrying civilization from the pessimistic South to the optimistic North. That does not reflect the religion of the normal man, nor does it manifest the social spirit of Christ's teachings. Another and a purer religion lies in the background. It is obscured in the Old Testament by a ritual which we had supposed that God had revealed and in the New Testament by enthusiasm which we had been taught that God had inspired. Instead of this, it is "the normal life of a stabler civilization which is helping us to reconstruct it; and instead of the divine Spirit, it is the social spirit that is to guide us into all truth."

Verily, this new apologetics does not seem to us to aim to be a "constructive defence" of Christianity so much as a destructive construction of it; and we are led to wonder whether an argument which fails to distinguish between defence and destruction is not likely to do no more than destroy itself.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

THE NEW TESTAMENT OF HIGHER BUDDHISM. By TIMOTHY RICHARD, D.D., Litt.D., English Baptist Mission, China. 8vo; pp. viii, 275. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1910. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons.

In his invaluable Handbook of Comparative Religion the lamented Dr. S. H. Kellogg emphasizes the difference between the Southern or Orthodox and the Northern or New Buddhism, and shows how the latter "has evolved for itself a doctrine of salvation which bears a considerable resemblance to the Christian doctrine" and also how the same is true of its doctrine of the last things. In these two respects, at least, Dr. Kellogg believes that "we may justly trace an historical connection with the gospel doctrine, which before the chief scriptures of the New Buddhism were written had been undoubtedly preached in India." These scriptures Dr. Richard puts before us in the most attractive form made possible by the art of the modern bookmaker, and he has himself done all that could be done to commend them to us by a translation of the text presumably exact and elegant, by helpful comments, by introductions that really introduce and by an accurate index. The preparation of this work has evidently been with him a labor of love, and we congratulate him heartily that he has left nothing to be desired in his presentation of Northern or Higher Buddhism to the Western world. That it is many degrees nearer Christianity than the Southern or Orthodox Buddhism of Siam and Ceylon, we think that all must readily see. That it contains much and valuable religious truth, we are sure that most will be glad to admit. That, however, it needs "modern Christianity only to be the winnowing fan which separates the chaff from the wheat," we cannot grant. It needs the Gospel to *reveal* the "only name given under heaven among men whereby we must be saved." The doctrine of the Amitabha Buddha may be a reflection of the preaching of "Christ crucified," but it is very vague. It needs, not only to be discriminated

from error, but far more to be replaced by the reality itself. The reflection of a truth does not always reflect the truth.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, Jr.

TRUTH ON TRIAL. An Exposition of the Nature of Truth. Preceded by a Critique of Pragmatism and an Appreciation of its Leader. By PAUL CARUS. 8vo; pp. v, 138. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. London Agents: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. 1911.

This is a collection of six reprints from the *Monist* of the years 1908, 1909 and 1910. They find their unity in this, that they aim to establish the truth as to truth both by refuting pragmatism and by expounding the nature of truth. The book is dedicated "To the memory of Professor William James, who with the best intentions put truth on trial and by his very errors advanced the cause of truth, in friendly remembrance of courtesies exchanged in spite of radical difference of opinion." The author's judgment of pragmatism and his appreciation of its leader is well summarized in the two following extracts: "With all due respect for Professor James, for whose extraordinary and fine personality I cherish an unbounded admiration, I must confess that I would deem it a misfortune if his philosophy would ever exercise a determining and permanent influence upon the national life of our country." "Professor James' book talks about truth, but never and nowhere does it clinch the problem. We grant that it combats many errors, although we must add that frequently what it combats are but straw men of the author's own making. But whatever errors pragmatism may be guilty of, Professor James was a man of great vigor and ingenuity. Though we would say that Professor James made serious blunders and was sometimes unfair to his antagonists, though he misconstrued the philosophies of the past, though he lacked clearness of thought, the first requisite for a philosopher, his writings possess a charm that is unrivalled. He may have been wrong in all his contentions, but he was never dull."

Dr. Carus justifies his estimate of pragmatism. By a running fire of criticism directed chiefly at its subjectivity and at its resulting conception of truth as inherently variable and impermanent he reduces it to an absurdity. On the other hand, he impresses us as no less successful and happy in his exposition of truth. With Thomas Aquinas he holds in general that "truth is the agreement of thought and thing." He believes that "truths are discovered, they are not invented. Though truths belong to the mind and exist only in the mind in the thinking subject, they have an objective significance and describe conditions which obtain somewhere or somehow independent of the mind." Hence, while pragmatism does not believe in "verities and in the consistency and unity of truth," Dr. Carus maintains that "truth reflects and reveals the eternal." Could anything be better than this as far as it goes? The trouble is, however, that it does not go nearly far enough. Dr. Carus' entheism, as he calls it, makes God impersonal. He is, as we are told, the sum or "oneness of the universe, the correspondence

between thought and it." But, as it has just been said of all the verities of existence, "truths belong to the mind and exist only in the mind in the thinking subject." How, then, can there be truth that "reflects the eternal," that agrees with the eternal verities, unless there be an eternal thinker, an absolute person? In a word, if Dr. Carus has shown Prof. James' pragmatism to be absurd, his own theism seems to us to be impossible.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, Jr.

THE TRUTH OF CHRISTIANITY, being an Examination of the More Important Arguments for and Against Believing in that Religion, compiled from various sources. By Lt. Col. W. H. TURTON, D. S. O., late Royal Engineers. Seventh Edition, Twentieth Thousand (Carefully revised throughout). 8vo; pp. vi, 604. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 27-29 West Twenty-third Street, 1910. \$1.25 net.

This admirable work was reviewed by us at so much length and with so much detail in the October number, 1900, p. 690, of The Presbyterian and Reformed Review, the immediate predecessor of The Princeton Theological Review, as to make additional criticism superfluous. We may only express our gratification at its increasing popularity. In spite of its Arminian standpoint, it impresses us still as much the best of our hand-books of Christian evidences.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

THE DEVIL'S REBELLION AND THE REASON WHY. By CHARLES F. MAY. 8vo, pp. 227. The M. L. & I. Co., May Building, Main Street, Lakeport, California. 1910. Price, post-paid, \$1.25.

This grotesque book is the work of a man who claims to know everything as to the origin of evil and as to the future, even as to the things which "the Father has put in his own power." His style, however, is so involved and his grammar so wretched, except when he is quoting Scripture, that it is impossible to tell whether he knows anything.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, Jr.

THE MASK OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE. A History of the Rise and Growth of the System, together with a Comparison of Metaphysical Healing with Matters Scientific, Christian and Biblical. By FRANCIS EDWARD MARSTEN, D.D., Author of the Freedom of Christ, Songs of Life, etc. 8vo; pp. 192. American Tract Society, 150 Nassau Street, New York. 1910.

The title of this book is sufficiently descriptive. It is a vigorous and telling exposure of Christian Science and of its prophet and founder Mrs. Eddy, and it should do great good. Some may criticize its argument as lacking in logical development and philosophical spirit. To us, however, this seems almost inevitable in view of the subject. It is questionable whether even Plato could have maintained his usual high level, had he discussed what was essentially inconsistent and absurd.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, Jr.

THE GOSPEL AND THE MODERN MAN. By SHAILER MATTHEWS. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1910. Pp. xiii, 331 (with index). Price, \$1.50 net.

This admirable book is an attempt to present an outline of an apologetic argument from the point of view of the spirit of contemporary thought. It is true that the author does not very particularly define "the modern man." Apart from the statement that he principally means "the modern man" who "has religious interests," he is somewhat vague in formal indication of what he has in mind in the expression in question. But his actual point of view is evident. He clearly means by "the modern man" the twentieth century man who is dominated by the western spirit. And to our mind he has given us a very helpful book,—betokening a high scholarship, with a strong grip of logic, and in a forceful and lucid English style,—in support of the thesis that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is credible from the viewpoint of modern philosophy, and that it is practically workable in the cotemporary individual and social state.

It does not subtract from our high estimate of Dr. Matthews as a thinker in this highest realm of thought to say that in his presentation of the contents of the Gospel he goes beyond the mere *letter*, and rests upon the *spirit* of the Christian Revelation. He plainly regards as the Soul of the Gospel the historical Jesus Christ—his personal character, his atoning sacrifice, his resurrection and his twofold message—embodied and verbal. God in Jesus Christ would seem to be his summary of what he means by "The Gospel."

The plan of the work is splendid in its simplicity. It consists of three parts, which work up to a climax: I. "The Problem of the Gospel"; II. "The Reasonableness of the Gospel"; III. "The Power of the Gospel." The three chapters which form Part III. are to our mind particularly powerful. Their titles are, "The Test of Life," "The New Life in Christ," and "The Power of the Social Gospel." The chapter on "The Deliverance from Death," in Part II., wherein personal immortality in the light of Evolution is discussed, and wherein the possibility of an ultimate scientific demonstration of the future life is enlarged upon, is also deserving of special comment.

The book abounds in quotable passages. As illustrations we venture to give two of these. "We see the Gospel powerful in individual lives. What triumphs it has won over debased souls! Drunkards and liars, prostitutes and thieves, yes, even hypocritical sinners of so-called respectable classes, who would otherwise be found among the miserable outcasts denied admission to the New Jerusalem, have been transformed by its power and made fellow-heirs with the saints of all the ages! We sometimes say that the age of great religious revivals is past, but the facts give the lie to the assertion. The past few years have seen not only innumerable revivals of the type men said were no longer possible, but they have seen also an extraordinary response the world over on the part of individual men and women to the appeal of Jesus for that sort of life which he himself lived. Evangelism itself is being filled with the social spirit. If we admit, as I believe

we must, that as yet the life of Jesus cannot be lived in our social order without self-sacrifice, we must also admit that the socialization of the gospel is proceeding, and that the plain man finds it easier today to embody the principles of Jesus than he did ten years ago. This I admit is a statement that must bear the test of facts. I make it not hastily, but in view of what seems to me to be the indubitable evidence of the new appropriation of the Gospel by the men of today. Give the tendencies everywhere discoverable another decade of development, and its truth will be less open to question." (P. 262.) True; and admirably said. Again: "The legalist makes acts the end of life; the Gospel makes acts the expression of personality. The one looks to separate deeds that men have agreed to call good; the other looks to a life which must express itself in deeds that are good because they spring from a life that is like God's, because it comes from God. In the very nature of the case, the Christian must champion the new life that blossoms out in impulse and finds fruitage in good deeds. We are not saved because we are good. We are good because we are saved. Good deeds are the result of our new life. The good tree must bring forth good fruit" (p. 289).

We hope that this book may obtain a wide reading. It has tonic power.

Cranford, N. J.

GEORGE FRANCIS GREENE.

THE END OF DARWINISM. NOT CHANGE BUT PERSISTENCE IS CHARACTERISTIC OF LIFE. *Every Change is Essentially a Persistence; Only What Persists Can Change.* An Essay. By ALFRED P. SCHULTZ, M.D., author of "Race or Mongrel," "The Children of Everybody," etc. Montecello, Sullivan, County, New York: Alfred P. Schultz. Price, 50 cents.

This essay illustrates two unfortunate tendencies; the first is to consider Evolution as it is at present so widely taught and believed as little more than "Darwinism", the second is to hold that Evolution is Atheism. Both these positions seem to be held by Dr. Schultz, and both are erroneous.

The Theory of Evolution has been widely developed since the appearance of the "Origin of Species;" and while it is not demonstrated as true, an immense amount of corroborative proof has been discovered to support its general outlines. There remain great gaps yet unbridged, it is true, but the normal modern mind that has had the privilege of any thorough scientific training thinks in terms of the evolutionary hypothesis and uses it as a working basis.

It is, therefore, very unfortunate that defenders of religious truth still are so far from comprehending the truth contained in this theory, and also its necessary limits that they blindly and dogmatically attack that which they do not understand, and spread the most unfortunate impression that no Evolutionist can be a real Christian, and no real Christian can possibly believe in Evolution.

Those who, with Dr. Schultz, emphatically disbelieve in any organic

evolution, may enjoy reading this essay. As an attempt to "end" Darwinism it is a complete failure.

Cranford, N. J.

GORDON M. RUSSELL.

DEATH AND RESURRECTION. FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE CELL THEORY. By GUSTAV BJÖRKLUND. Translated from the Swedish by J. E. FRIES. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1910.

The attempt to demonstrate the existence of the soul, or its immortality, is as old as the history of rational man. Both the facts and the theories of science have been called upon to substantiate each side of the great argument, while science, as a whole, has remained neutral, rightly considering that religion is not within its province. Dr. Björklund enters the ranks in the war against materialism, and believes that the immortality of the soul is demonstrated because the cells are the inherent living units of the body and the soul is absolutely connected with them. The detailed argument is a combination of semi-scientific information and philosophical theory. To one who, like the author, is a close follower of Jacob Boettröm, it may prove conclusive. But the most recent scientific research tends to invalidate the position that spontaneous generation has always been impossible or even improbable. While the existence of the soul in the cells is not proved by this book, it is practically assumed. The complex relations of Science and Psychology to Revealed Religion still require careful investigating, but only those who have a *thorough* knowledge of both sides can really be expected to produce works of lasting merit.

Cranford, N. J.

GORDON M. RUSSELL.

THEOLOGY AND HUMAN PROBLEMS. A comparative Study of Absolute Idealism and Pragmatism as interpreters of religion. The Nathaniel William Taylor Lectures for 1909-10 given before the Divinity School of Yale University by EUGENE WILLIAM LYMAN, D.D., Professor of Christian Theology in Bangor Theological Seminary. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1910.

"There are in general two methods open to the worker in the field of theology. They are the method of the cloister and the method of the clinic. . . . The one seeks primarily to protect religion. The other strives mainly to develop religion. . . . The object of these lectures therefore, is to determine the relative merits of the cloistral and clinical methods, and then to apply the one adopted to certain great themes of religion."

These words of the author, quoted from the preface, indicate clearly the purpose of these lectures. The theme has the following development. To study anything, to make real progress to any goal of knowledge, the student must follow one of the "great highways of thought." He must travel on the highway of Absolute Idealism or the highway of

the critical Philosophy or the highway of Pragmatism. The student of Theology is forced to move along one of these paths. Each path is then discussed as to its ability to serve the ends of theology. While great truths are recognized in the first two they, by their very nature, are not completely satisfactory. Pragmatism, however, is superior to Idealism or Kantianism as a highway as it presents the following advantages. "It makes religious experience an irreducible source of truth, which Absolute Idealism fails to do. At the same time, it does away with the dualism between faith and knowledge by which the Ritschlians are still hampered, despite their emphasis upon faith as a source of truth. Further, it makes it possible for us to conceive of God as one who is genuinely immanent in history, which absolute idealism, though standing sponsor for the conception of immanence, cannot really accomplish. Finally, it does justice to the historical character of religion, and brings out the immense practical importance of the study of religious history" (p. 57-58).

Having thus chosen one highway of thought, we proceed along it and study "Man's Experience of the Eternal". Our experience may come from within; may be a personal "apprehension of God immediately and without the admixture of any other experience." The faults of this system are clearly shown. Again, our experience of God may be gained through historical revelation. The objections to regarding this as our sole source of religious information are scientific and religious. For, on the one hand, science must use the same methods of investigation in the case of the Scriptures as in all other historical study, while, on the other, such a conception of divine revelation did not accord the men of the present any real experience of God at all. "All knowledge in the religious realm is conditioned by faith" and by faith we see in Jesus the revelation of God. The revelation of Christ is historical in the sense that this disclosure of the divine life was wrought out in and through a participation in human history."

Pragmatism finds an "experience of the eternal in the development of moral responsibility. Through the conception of the Spirit as 'the product of the transformation effected in Paul by the life and death of Jesus Christ,' we are led to see two blended elements,—the fullest and richest moral activity and the consciousness of the in-dwelling presence of God."

Jesus shows the connection between morality and religion by giving to every aspect of religion an ethical meaning and by carrying the religious consciousness into every experience and function of life. Jesus "*effected a synthesis between the religion of divine immanence and the religion of ethical personality.*" Thus we have our experience of the Eternal.

Dr. Lyman then discusses the "One Increasing Purpose" of the world. The world is not aimless nor is the universe static. When we obtain the proper standards of truth and value, we see that it is evolving continually to what is better and nobler. The problem of moral evil is analyzed and the solution offered by the Idealists is found to be

faulty, while Pragmatic Theology reveals the continually atoning God at work to conquer and extirpate sin. In the atonement which God is always making for sin we have the promise of final complete victory; for not only will the corruption of sin be done away but its evil effects will be completely neutralized. With this cheerful outlook these lectures are concluded.

Dr. Lyman's book is interesting and contains much, very much, that is of great value. But it does not give a fair picture of historic, orthodox Christianity, and rests too heavily on evolution. To most Christians philosophy is a much dreaded word, and there has been far too much ground for this fear. Any system which seems to put the theories of man above the revelation of God—which interprets facts which we possess, or seem to possess, according to what we think would be best and not according to the facts themselves—must be injurious to all religious truth. We must answer the question whether we have actual truths which we certainly know in the sphere of religion. If we find that we have, we must try to harmonize them with themselves and with other facts known in other sciences. If we then logically come to certain conclusions and have data enough on which to go, these conclusions must be authoritative like the laws of physics and chemistry which are not affected by the varying tides of philosophical theory. To say that certain doctrines of our faith are untrue because they do not benefit us is exactly on a par with denying the existence of known facts in other spheres of knowledge which do not seem to have any direct bearing on our present lives. Pragmatism in endeavoring to make theology practical falls into this error and in so doing reduces it from a logical expression of known truth to a moral discipline with only a regulative value.

The author's work is both stimulating and instructive, but in it the foundation of our faith, or at all events its interpretation, seems to rest too much on the eddying currents of contemporary thought. Philosophy may, to certain minds, prove a good interpreter of religion; but it will always bring with it the danger of alienating those who belong to other schools of thought and of those also who not unnaturally distrust all philosophy, believing that through it not truth but mere theory is alone attainable.

Cranford, N. J.

GORDON M. RUSSELL.

WHAT NATURE IS. *An Outline of Scientific Naturalism.* By CHARLES KINDALL FRANKLIN, author of "The Socialization of Humanity" and "The Future of the Human Race." Boston: Sherman, French & Company. 1911. Price, 75 cents net.

In the last chapter of this brief essay the author states what Nature is in the following words, "If we wish to understand Nature in all its forms, it must be constantly kept in mind, that there is nothing but energy; that it has two forms—radiant and gravitant; that gravitant energy produces the forms, and radiant energy conditions them. It must never be forgotten, that Nature is a process; that Nature is always going; that there is nothing but change; and that

the fundamental law of Nature is the Law of Repetition. All the various forms of matter—the inorganic, the organic and the social—are but repetitions of the forms of matter that have gone before them as determined by radiant energy in its various manifestations.

The object, then, is to explain and vindicate the claim of "Scientific Naturalism" to be the only true philosophy for the educated man, of today or of the future. Great prophecies are made as to the Golden Age when all men shall truly understand man and nature as one, and shall live in a state of the complete conservation of all social energies.

All the arguments and objections that apply to materialism apply with great vigor here. The author's position is one of surprising dogmatism for a seeker after truth, and truth alone. It would be wise for those who read this work to verify the statements as to those things which are now accepted as proved by men of science, as it certainly seems that matters still under most vigorous debate are here regarded as settled finally.

It can also be safely assumed that no philosophy can be permanently accepted which fails to explain, or try to explain, why the universe is here or where it came from or whither it is going. The statement that all are due to "Law" or to "Process" simply leaves the mind inquiring where the "Law" and "Process" originated.

Cranford, N. J.

GORDON M. RUSSELL.

EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

ISRAEL'S IDEAL OR STUDIES IN OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY. By REV. JOHN ADAMS, B.D. Inverkeilor; Author of "Sermons in Syntax", "Sermons in Accents", etc. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1909. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. 8vo; vii, 227. \$1.50 net.

In these studies in Old Testament Theology an attempt is made to present in popular form the gist and trend of development of the main Old Testament doctrines. The principle of revelation is recognized, but, as the title "Israel's Ideal" indicates, in a subjectivized sense. Besides this, the critical conclusions of the Graf-Wellhausen School as to the dating of the writings are accepted. The author seems to be of the opinion that this may be done without detriment to or serious modification of the supernatural content of the Old Testament. His own methods, however, furnish to our mind a most convincing illustration of the impossibility of this. He adopts from this critical school not merely its chronology but also the tenet that ethical monotheism is the differentiating principle of the Old Testament religion. Hand in hand with this goes the acceptance of the antithesis of the ethical and the ritual as constituting the two poles between which the development revolves. As others have done before, Mr. Adams helps himself with carrying this antithesis, which according to the critics is prophetic in its origin, back into the mind of Moses. The result is a curious revival

of the old patristic, semi-gnosticizing view (later held by Coccejus and Spencer), that the ritual institutions were an afterthought in the Mosaic religion occasioned by the lapse of the people into idolatry. Moses is represented as in a burst of indignation and disappointment casting the two tables of the law beneath the mount and postponing his entire programme to the unknown possibilities of the future, and as having to consent to a compromise of his ideal with the ritual. To be sure, this is not the Moses of the critical school; much less is it the Moses of the Pentateuch; it is a new Moses copied after the figure of the prophets as the modern school conceives them, and so it is after all a Moses in accord with the critical ideal if not in accord with the critical history. At any rate by this scheme the legitimacy and continuity of the higher ethical religion are saved. To some extent the author dates this religion back even into the patriarchal period, although he has to say so much about the "hinterland" of Semitic paganism, that the figures of the patriarchs do not stand out very definitely on his canvas. Our main grievance is that the ritual finds so little favor in the author's view. It would be going too far to say that the antithesis between ethical and ritual is identical with that between an unredemptive and redemptive interpretation of the heart of the Old Testament religion; for there is a strong redemptive strand in the prophetic part of the Old Testament, altogether apart from the ritual. Yet one cannot help feeling that where the ethical is thus pointedly put over against the ceremonial, as the critics are accustomed to do, that there, together with false ritualism, also that true ceremonial, which embodies so much of the Old Testament Gospel, must suffer from the damage wrought. After all, valuable though the ethical monotheism be as a unique acquisition of Israel, we cannot acknowledge that it is the heart of the Old Testament religion. This must always lie in the doctrine of salvation and the recognition of this must inevitably lead to a different and higher appreciation of the ritual than Mr. Adams is able to accord it from his premises.

Princeton.

GEERHARDUS VOS.

AVESTA ESCHATOLOGY COMPARED WITH THE BOOKS OF DANIEL AND REVELATIONS, being supplementary to Zarathushtra, Philo, the Archaemenids and Israel. By Dr. Lawrence H. Mills, Professor of Zend Philology in Oxford. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1908.

The most striking fact brought out by the learned author of this work is that we should make a distinction between the Persian theology as it is found in the Achaemenian inscriptions and as it is more fully explicated in the Zend Avesta; and that the only safe course for us is to form our judgments as to the two schools of Persian theology from the actually surviving writings,—to wit, the Inscriptions and the Avesta. We wish that Dr. Mills had made a more thorough comparison between the two schools whose existence he has thus, and we think rightly, asserted to exist. His failure to do this is the fundamental error of the book, as far at least as his comparison

between Daniel and the Persian ideas is concerned. While not pretending to the special knowledge of the language and religion of the Avesta which the writer of this book certainly possesses, yet we may presume to suggest that the Persian names in Daniel, such as satrap (Akhashdarpan), have the exact forms of the inscriptions. The presence of the *kh* in Daniel would indicate that the words had been transferred from the Persian at a time when the *kh* was still employed in Persian; that is, at some time before the end of the Achaemenid empire. The omission of the *kh* in the Persian of the Avesta would indicate that its language was later,—how much, no one can say—than that of the inscriptions, or than that of the Persian words in Daniel; unless we were to conclude that the northern Persian had developed much earlier than the southern. But even if it had, the evidence is that the Persian of Daniel was borrowed from the southern branch represented in inscriptions and not from the northern branch found in the Zend Avesta.

Before one can assert, also, that Daniel's doctrine of a resurrection has been derived from the Persians, it would be well to prove that the Avesta existed before the book of Daniel was written, or that some hint of such a doctrine was to be found in the Persian inscriptions. Of course, if Daniel was composed about 164 B. C., it is almost certain that the Avesta antedated it. But, if Daniel was composed in the sixth century B. C., it almost equally certainly antedated the Avesta. No hint of a resurrection is found in the Achaemenid inscriptions, whose Persian corresponds to that of Daniel. This Persian of the inscriptions is, doubtless, earlier than that of the Avesta. Why, then, may not the Persian writers of the Avesta have derived their conception of a resurrection from Daniel and not vice versa? We would like to have the author answer the question, not by citing 19th century authorities, but from the comparison of the original writings themselves.

The doctrine of a God who is creator of heaven and earth, and the God of heaven of the exilic-biblical books; the devotion of Darius Hystaspis according to his inscriptions, and the piety of Cyrus according to the biblical decrees; the acknowledgment of more gods than one on two at least of the Persian inscriptions, together with the complaisance with which Cyrus treats the gods of Babylon according to the Babylonian records found on the Cyru Cylinder and on the Nabunaid Chronicle, —all combine to strengthen our belief in the contemporaneousness of the Persian and Babylonian records of the Persian kings with the biblical books which have been traditionally supposed to be, and which on the face of them purport to be, from the fifth and sixth centuries B. C.

The author himself admits that the teachings of the Avesta concerning dualism and the Ameshashpends are absent from the book of Daniel.

As to the doctrine of angels, moreover, the author's disquisition has not convinced us that Daniel derived his views from the Avesta, nor even that there was any connection between the two. Certainly, no

connection can be shown between the biblical names of any of the angels and those of any of the seven Ameshashpends of the Avesta. Nor has the author shown any mark of such similarity of functions as would imply a necessary or probable derivation of one from the other. All ancient literary nations have left us evidence of their belief in many spirits superior to man and inferior to the supreme God, or gods, whom they worshipped. The Babylonians believed in seven evil spirits and in guardian spirits of good. Aside from a divine revelation, we cannot see why a Jewish thinker in Babylon may not have easily developed some doctrines of good and bad angels in harmony with his belief in the one supreme and ever living God. But granting revelation, the doctrines of the Scripture with regard to angelic beings are perfectly clear, consistent, and harmonious with the analogy of faith. The idea of personal intercourse between God and the chosen objects of his favor is found in the earliest records of the Israelites. Sometimes he sent his angelic messengers to make known his will. The number of these angels and the names of all of them have not been revealed. The fact of their existence is sometimes clearly stated and always is taken for granted. Anything that we can know of them must be through a revelation or from observation and experience during their ministration and visitation among men. The time and method and completion of this revelation are in the will of God who enjoins or permits them. The author treats the whole subject as if he thought that the doctrines of the scriptures were all matters of human invention rather than, in the essential points at least, the statements in human language of the revealed thought of God.

A certain lack of clearness of statement and of thoroughness and connectedness of treatment renders the discussion difficult to follow. This is probably due largely to the author's hurried production, as he states in his preface; and in part, it is, doubtless, due to the confusion of the Avesta itself. Yet, in spite of its obvious defects, the author has made some brilliant suggestions. We hope he may continue his investigations and that he may help us all to arrive at the facts concerning the important matters of which he treats.

Princeton.

ROBERT DICK WILSON.

DISCOVERIES IN HEBREW, GAELIC, GOTHIC, ANGLO-SAXON, LATIN, BASQUE AND OTHER CAUCASIC LANGUAGES, showing fundamental kinship of the Aryan tongues and of Basque with the Semitic tongues. By ALLISON EMERY DRAKE, Sc.M., M.D., Ph.D., sometime university fellow in Anglo-Saxon in Columbia University, author of "The [Triple] Authorship of the West-Saxon Gospels [A Discovery]"; associate editor of the *Colorado Medical Journal*, 1901-7. Denver: The Herrick Book and Stationery Company. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Company, Ltd. 1907.

In spite of the author's belief that the evidence in support of the kinship between the Semitic tongues and the Aryan, especially the

Basque, is abundant, unquestionable and unequivocal, we still agree with Hadley, Whitney and Kautzsch that it is at present impossible to make out the relationship that is claimed. The author's learned and labored attempt to show this kinship has only intensified our conviction that it cannot be shown.

Princeton.

ROBERT DICK WILSON.

JÉSUS MESSIE ET FILS DE DIEU d'après les Évangiles Synoptiques, par M. LEPIN, Professeur au Grand Séminaire de Lyon. Troisième Édition. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, éditeurs. 1907. 12mo, pp. lxxv. 430. [Quatrième édition, revue et augmentée d'un appendice. 1909. 12mo, pp. lxxviii, 510. (Ed. i. 1904: pp. xlv, 279; ed. 2. 1905: pp. lxxvi. 430.)]

CHRIST AND THE GOSPEL, or Jesus the Messiah and Son of God. By the Rev. MARIUS LEPIN, S.S., D.D., of the Theological Seminary of Lyons, Francheville, Rhône, France. Authorized English Version. Philadelphia: John Jos. McVey. 1910. Small 8vo, pp. xi, 558.

There are few more voluminous writers in the French Catholic Church on the subjects called into debate by M. Loisy's critical theories than M. Lepin. The long series of works which has come from his pen during the last few years includes studies on *The Idea of Sacrifice in the Christian Religion* (8vo, pp. 440), *Why Ought We to be Christians* (16mo, pp. 64), *The Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels* (12mo, pp. 126), *Christology: Commentary on Propositions 27-38 of the Decree of the Sacred Office, 'Lamentabili'* (12mo, pp. 120), and an extended express examination of *The Theories of M. Loisy* (12mo, pp. 489). But we can scarcely be wrong in placing at their head the work at present before us which was first published in 1904 and has run through four editions in six years; and two solid discussions of the Fourth Gospel—*The Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (1907: 12mo, pp. 508) and *The Historical Value of the Fourth Gospel* (1910. 2 vols.: 12mo, pp. 648 and 424). All three of these works take their origin from M. Loisy's criticism and have as their primary end its refutation; but they all three, in the fullness and positiveness of the treatment by each of its special theme, go far beyond this primary purpose, and become substantial additions to our literature on the criticism of the Gospels and their historical record.

The occasion for this notice of M. Lepin's treatise on the Jesus of the Synoptics is afforded by the appearance of an English translation of it. This translation is not, however, a very satisfactory one. Not only does the (anonymous) translator take unwarrantable liberties with the arrangement of the text—incorporating, for example, the whole mass of footnotes into it; he does not even show himself competent to render the lucid French into plain, clear English. The reader will not get through so much as a page and a half of Preface without discovering that he will require the French text at his elbow to

help him to the sense. When M. Lepin speaks of the "forming of our Lord's Messianic consciousness" and of "the progressive development of His consciousness," the translator can do no better by him than make him speak of "the formation of the Messianic conscience" and "the progressive unfolding of Christ's mind." "We hope," renders the translator, "that this present edition will be welcomed by all who are interested in religion, and who eagerly follow the controversies which arose of late, about the foundations of the faith." Who could divine that beneath this collocation of words lies M. Lepin's simple expression of the hope that this edition will "be acceptable to all who are interested in the religious question and who follow with attention the debates which are in progress on the foundations of the faith"? If such blundering handling of the text were confined to simple matters of fact contained in a Preface, the reader could no doubt find his way without much trouble. But quite too great a tax is put upon the alertness of his intelligence when the close argumentation of the treatise itself is placed thus obscurely before him. We open the volume at random and read at the bottom of p. 33 and top of p. 34 these two not very intelligible sentences: "As early as 1835, Strauss had written: 'The biblical history would be unassailable if it were evident that it had been committed to writing by eye-witnesses, at least by men neighbors of the events.' In our own day the theory rejected by Strauss has been verified; and nevertheless Rationalists nowadays actually refuse to admit the conclusions." We turn to the French and read clearly:—"The evangelical history would be unassailable", wrote Strauss in 1835, 'if it were certain that it was written by eye-witnesses, or at least by men close to the events.' The hypothesis thus set aside by Strauss has been substantiated in our own time, and yet the rationalist of to-day refuses to allow the conclusion." The divergence is no doubt not very great; it is just enough to confuse the matter. Again, on p. 57 we read: "Next in order comes Jesus' public life. And here we meet with the vital question at issue between infidelity and the Christian faith, namely, Did Jesus claim to be the expected Messiah? Like other Rationalists, Renan admits as much, and in fact the personal manifestation of Jesus as the Messiah shall appear to us as carrying along with itself the irrefutable proof of its own authority. A hard problem, and real stumbling-block is also presented in the further query: What is the source of Jesus' conviction of His Messiahship? Some would explain it, as did Renan, to be the merely human evolution of His ideas under the natural influence of His surroundings." What M. Lepin really says is (he is giving a preliminary account of the contents of his book): "With the sketch of *Jesus the Messiah in His public life* we enter into the vital portions of the question debated between unbelief and faith. *Did Jesus claim to be the Messiah?* Yes, the rationalist critics of to-day readily agree, along with Renan. And, in fact, the personal manifestation of Jesus the Messiah will appear to us to bear in itself the unexceptionable evidence of its authenticity. But then, *Whence came to*

Jesus the consciousness of being the Messiah? Here is the anxious problem, the true stumbling-block of unbelieving criticism. Renan undertook to explain the Messianic consciousness of the Savior by a purely human evolution of His ideas, under the natural influence of His environment . . ." There is here not a simple translation, but a subtle transposition of values, and in the constant annoyance which it causes the reader, it cannot seem strange if he prefers to leave the English version wholly to one side and revert to the French original. Doing so he finds that he has a book in his hands which is worthy of his liveliest admiration—thorough in method, cogent in argument, clear in style, and acceptable in its prudent conclusions.

The English translation seems to have been made from the second French edition and corrected afterwards by the fourth. The reviewer has access at the moment only to the third French edition. A cursory comparison of it with the English translation is enough, however, to show that the text of the third edition and that which underlies the English translation are practically the same, with two notable exceptions. There has been added to the fourth edition a long appendix (sixty-three pages in the English version; and said to be fifty-five pages in the French) in criticism of Loisy's views as restated in his large *Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels* (two vols. 1907, 1908). And a series of helps for the commodious use of the book have also been supplied in the fourth edition: an index of New Testament texts commented upon; a list of the books cited; and a general index of subjects discussed. These additions add to the value of the book, but despite them it remains substantially the same book, and we may safely base whatever we have to say of it on the text of the third edition. A glance at the details given in connection with the title at the head of this notice will advertize to us, nevertheless, that the book has had a history, and as it now lies before us is a product of growth: in its later forms it is almost twice as bulky as it was in its first issue. The new matter has at once broadened it and strengthened it. Apparently, as the impulse of the book was derived from the publication of M. Loisy's critical theories concerning the evangelical history, the first edition was directed to the refutation of those theories, and along with them only the similar views of M. Stapfer and Professor Harnack were dealt with. In the later editions, both the Introduction which treats of the historicity of the Synoptic Gospels and the body of the book in which the testimony of these Gospels to the Messiahship and Deity of Christ is investigated, have been enlarged so as to deal with the whole body of relevant criticism especially as it is set forth in the writings of Bernhard Weiss, H. Wendt, Oscar Holtzmann, P. Wernle, Johannes Weiss, W. Wrede. The book has thus become a comprehensive treatise on the Synoptical Jesus, in view of recent criticism.

The disposition of the matter is as follows: There is a long introduction (75 pages) on the origin and historical value of the three first Gospels. Then follow four chapters on (respectively) "The

Messianic Hope at the opening of the Christian Era" (pp. 1-54), "Jesus the Messiah and Son of God in His Infancy" (pp. 55-76), "Jesus the Messiah in His Public Life" (pp. 77-218), and "Jesus the Son of God in His Public Life" (pp. 219-421). The whole closes (in the fourth edition) with an appendix of 55 pages in which the latest statement of Loisy's theories is expounded and examined. These several sections are not of equal value, and indeed do not all seem to have been written to go together. The sketch of "The Messianic Hope at the opening of the Christian Era" is avowedly, indeed, a fragment of a larger work of more inclusive contents; and some of the other sections have the appearance of separate studies. In their combination, however, they cover the ground and cover it very well, passing in review, as they do, the whole of the testimony of the Synoptic Gospels to the Messiahship and Deity of our Lord. The two main sections are, as they should be, the most extended, the most thorough and the most satisfactory. The former of these—"Jesus, the Messiah in His Public Life"—treats in turn three topics: "Jesus' claim to be the Messiah", "The Sense in which Jesus claimed to be the Messiah" and "The Source of Jesus' Consciousness of being the Messiah". The latter of them—"Jesus the Son of God in His Public Life"—takes up six several topics: "Position of the Question in Contemporary Criticism", "The Divinity of Christ according to M. Loisy", "The Divinity of Christ according to the Synoptics", "Accord of the Synoptical Data with the Faith of the Primitive Church", "The Reserve of Christ in manifesting His Divinity", and "The Perfection of Christ's Knowledge".

M. Lepin's method, as we have already noted, is first to lay a basis of confidence in the Synoptical report by defending the historicity of the Synoptic Gospels and then to develop their testimony to Christ's Messiahship and Deity. The peculiarity of his procedure, however, is that while not neglecting the vindication of the trustworthiness of the Gospel narrative from his own point of view, he yet turns the flank of his opponents. In view of the general agreement of the "critics" that the Synoptical account of the person, life-course and teaching of Jesus is in the main trustworthy he holds we may spare ourselves minute criticism of the sources, in a vain attempt to distinguish between the "traditional" and the "dogmatic" elements in them, and build with confidence on their general trend. "According to the avowal of our critics", he says (p. liii), "the Synoptics are not only an exposition of the first faith of the Church; they are also a relation of the acts and words of Jesus which is authentic in its general effect and substantially faithful. So that, in order that we may obtain an exact idea of the Person of Christ, it is not indispensable to institute a critical discussion of the respective value of the elements into which our writings may be resolved. We may legitimately take these writings just as they are, and if we are careful to base our study, not on this or that isolated detail, but on the account as a whole, we may be assured of reaching a solid or certain conclusion; it will have for its

foundation, indeed, essentially that historical substance which criticism recognizes as the constitutive nucleus of our documents; and the adventitious elements which are thought to have been disposed around this fundamental nucleus by the progressive labor of Christian reflection, can have no other influence on the result obtained than to throw it up into some sort of relief, to bring out its full significance and not to vitiate it in any essential way." This is good apologetical method; though it may seem to share the weakness of all *ex concessu* reasoning of appearing to be valid only *ad hominem*. It is easy to say, no doubt, that the conclusion reached hangs precisely on those adventitious elements in the Gospel account which are not part of the substantial nucleus of dependable history; and it is certain that the exact thing which the naturalistic criticism of the Gospels is set upon doing is to eliminate from the trustworthy contents of the Gospel narrative precisely those elements which give its character to the conclusion in question. Meanwhile, however, it is undeniable that when taken by and large the Gospel account does yield this result; and that naturalistic criticism is compelled for its own protection—and that even more strenuously to-day than when M. Lepin's book was last sent to the press only a couple of years ago—to assert the general trustworthiness of the Gospel narrative. It is the merit of M. Lepin that he has seized and pressed this point. It is merely playing fast and loose to say in one breath that the Gospel narrative is trustworthy in the portrait which it gives of Jesus, in its general effect; and then in the next breath to say that the portrait which the Gospel narrative gives of Jesus, in its general effect, is untrustworthy. When M. Lepin has shown, as he does solidly show, that the Messiahship and the Deity of Jesus lie so embedded in the Gospels' account of Him as to stand out as the primary result of their testimony as a whole, he has fairly driven the naturalistic criticism from this field. Either the Gospel account of Jesus is not trustworthy even in its most general outline, or else it must be allowed that Jesus Himself claimed to be and His very first followers recognized Him as being not only the Messiah but God. In the former case the naturalistic critics are helpless before the Kalthoffs and Kautskys and Maurenhörs, the von Schnehens and Drewses. In the latter case they are helpless before the despised "orthodox". And it will be hard if they are not crushed out of existence between these two mill-stones.

It is not, however, in this negative result that M. Lepin's book finds its real significance. Though he never permits the opposing views to fall out of sight—Renan's, Strauss', Loisy's, the "Protestant Liberals"—and provides a continuous reply to them; the essence of his book is a positive presentation of the testimony of the Synoptics to our Lord's Messiahship and Deity. Nor is he overcareful to base his findings only on the general tenor of the Synoptical record, without calling into account what might be deemed occasional or isolated forms of statement. His book is in a word just a thoroughly worked out and carefully considered exposition of the Synoptic testimony, set out in

opposition to recent critical assaults. It is to this that it owes its value. It would be difficult to find a more complete or more discreet survey of the whole material which here comes into review. M. Lepin is a Roman Catholic and now and then speaks from the specifically Roman Catholic point of view; he is sure of the primacy of Peter and of the divinity of the Church. We cannot go with him in his discovery of two separate spheres of Christ's human knowledge, of different, perhaps even mutually unassimilable contents; we do not find his treatment of our Lord's eschatological discourses as convincing as other portions of his discussion. But as a whole, we esteem the book one of the most valuable and satisfactory discussions of its particular theme which has come into our hands, and we could heartily wish it was put into circulation among our English-speaking churches in a more adequate rendering.

It is impossible to enter here into the details of M. Lepin's manner of dealing with his material. We cannot deny ourselves, however, the pleasure of simply indicating an instance or two which may illustrate the penetrating character of his reasoning. We may call attention for example to his searching exposure of the difficulties in which naturalistic criticism finds itself when it faces the problem of the origin of Jesus' Messianic claims (pp. 152 *sq.*). "Here", says he, "is the great problem, the problem in the highest degree disconcerting, for unbelieving criticism. Decrying everything which transcends the order of nature the rationalist rejects all notion of an authentic and real Messiah, that is to say, of a personage sent by God to serve Him as a representative before man and to establish at the end of time the eternal kingdom of the elect; for him it is impossible that Jesus could be speaking the truth in claiming to be the Messiah. But then, only two hypotheses present themselves, between which we must of necessity choose; either Jesus was a deceiver or He was Himself deceived." No one desires to take the first horn of this dilemma: but the second is nearly as bad—as it involves attributing to Jesus, the mark of whose life was intellectual simplicity and clarity and moral sincerity and humility, a delusion which infers nothing less than megalomania. It is easy to understand accordingly why an extreme skeptical party is always with us (e. g., Wellhausen, Wrede, N. Schmidt, Loisy), set upon denying that Jesus took Himself for the Messiah: the remnants of reverence for His person—and character—powerfully impel to this position. Since, however, it cannot be successfully denied that Jesus did conceive Himself to be the Messiah (as even men like Bousset, and Harnack, Wernle, and J. Weiss are constrained to admit) the problem becomes a desperate one for naturalistic critics:—how are we to conceive *this* Jesus as imagining Himself *this* Messiah, involving as it does nothing less than divine claims? The momentousness of the problem cannot be hidden by smooth words. Says Harnack: "Of one alone we know that He united the deepest humility and purity of will with the claim to be more than all the prophets which had appeared before Him; even the Son of God" (*Christentum und Geschichte*, 1904. p. 10).

And Wernle brings the matter to a point (*Die Anfänge*, etc. 1901. p. 25): "The astonishing thing in Jesus is that He who was conscious of being more than a man preserved the most profound humility before God." It is safe to say that if He were not really the Messiah, and the Divine Messiah, the thing could not occur. A man such as the Jesus who is given us by the evangelists could not have *imagined* Himself the Divine Messiah: the trait which would have made it possible for Him to put Himself forward as the Son of God—if He was not really such—could not have lived in the same soul with the humility of heart which was His highest human characteristic. Perhaps we can push the matter even further: the same soul could not be both the Son of Man and the humble Jesus. The two things could no more dwell in the same soul than issue from the same soul. If Jesus *was* really both the Son of God and the most sincerely humble of men—then He was both God and man in two distinct natures. But M. Lepin does not draw this last conclusion in his striking discussion.

As an example of an admirably ordered sustained argument we may point to the central passage (pp. 267-337) in which the Synoptic testimony to the Divinity of Jesus is drawn out in detail. And we may instance in this long argument as particularly admirable the discussion of the evidence that our Lord was made the object of direct worship (pp. 276-280); and the examination of the especially remarkable declarations of Christ concerning His relations to God—the question about the Son of David and David's Lord, the parable of the homicidal husbandmen, the great declaration of the mutual all-inclusive knowledge of the Father and Son of each other, the response to Peter upon his confession, and the baptismal formula. In these passages the argument for the Synoptical teaching of our Lord's Deity culminates, and it is difficult to see how they could have been more prudently or convincingly treated. We employ the term "prudently" here wittingly: for one of the excellences of M. Lepin's work is its balance. In arguing the Deity of our Lord, he does not forget His humanity, but strives to do justice to all sides of His complex personality. "The two testimonies", he remarks (p. 370-371), "are in fact inseparable from one another. That which establishes in Christ a true participation in the Divine nature, is indissolubly mingled with that which establishes His real participation in human nature and presents the same guarantees of true history. The identity of Christ, true man and true Son of God, as it appears in the portrait of Him drawn by the Synoptists, results from a crowd of scattered details, of traits thrown out according to the occasion, with no other intention than that of relating the history. Now all these traits, ascertained by the critics and compared with one another, marvellously harmonize, explain one another, and clarify and illuminate one another, so as to form a picture of perfect unity, where everything is in place. Relations so conceived are certainly not the product of invention, conscious or unconscious, they cannot be anything but the authentic reproduction, the exact photograph, of a sublime but very living reality. And this conclusion is still further

strengthened by comparison of the three Synoptic relations among themselves, and even by comparison of the Fourth Gospel with the three first, from which it is in appearance so diverse, but with which at bottom it is, as we shall see, so equivalent."

Perhaps we ought to mention before closing that M. Lepin's very numerous citations from recent writers on his subject are uniformly accurate and may be relied upon. Almost the only slip in a matter of fact which we have noted is his classification of the late Prof. G. B. Stevens of Yale Divinity School as an "Anglican" writer. Needless to say the translator does not correct this slip. He compensates for his inactivity at this point, however, by giving us "Servant of Jaweh" (p. 87) when M. Lepin has the current "Servant of Jehovah" (though elsewhere, in a note, he uses the form Jahvé); and the odd form, Caïphas (e. g. p. 523).

Princeton.

B. B. WARFIELD.

JOHN THE PRESBYTER AND THE FOURTH GOSPEL. By Dom John Chapman, O.S.B. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1911. Pp. 108. Price 6s. net (\$2.00).

Those who have read Dom Chapman's *The Early History of the Vulgate Gospels* will not miss reading this little book on John the Presbyter, and students of the New Testament cannot neglect its interpretation of the Papiian fragments,—intimately associated as these are with the evidence for the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. The style is delightfully direct and the argument concise and clear. In recent discussion of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel an interpretation of these fragments has become common in which the identity of the Presbyter John with John the Apostle is denied, the description of Aristion and the Presbyter John as disciples of the Lord is rejected as an interpolation or corruption of the text, and the tradition of (an early) martyrdom of the Apostle John is maintained "as the simple historical fact" (Schwartz, Wellhausen, Bousset, Bacon). Dom Chapman argues strongly against all of these contentions. He thinks that the "Presbyters" of Papias were different from the Apostles and maintains that Papias received his tradition of the words of the Apostles about Jesus directly from the Presbyters (*παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*) and indirectly from those who had followed them (*εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολούθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι*) and that he received information concerning the sayings of Aristion and the Presbyter (Apostle) John both directly (Eusebius) and indirectly. He rejects the two John theory of Dionysius and Eusebius and maintains that there was but one John at Ephesus who was the Apostle, the author of the Fourth Gospel, the three Epistles and the Apocalypse. He accepts the traditional dating of the Apocalypse in the reign of Domitian, and accounts for the difference in style and diction between it and the Gospel by difference in literary types, by Old Testament influence, but chiefly

by difference in the scribes of whose assistance the Apostle is thought to have made use in the composition of the two books.

The book is full of interesting suggestions and of pointed argument which at times approaches the brusque decisiveness of Wellhausen. Of Jülicher's statement connecting the Alogi with Asia Minor Dom Chapman says (p. 53 n. 1) "There is no proof whatever that they were a sect in Asia Minor. I am inclined to think that the best name for them is Gaius and Co." A passage is quoted from Wrede (p. 88 n. 1) "The decision that it (the fourth Gospel) cannot originate with the apostle is placed beyond doubt by internal evidence, the nature of the Gospel itself. On this the whole of the scientifically impartial theological world is as good as united in opinion",—upon which Dom Chapman comments as follows: "A person who imagines that the authorship of a work can be denied, entirely apart from all external evidence, on the ground of his own *a priori* notion of what the reputed author (otherwise unknown) ought to have written, may be a scientifically impartial theologian, for all I know, but he is not a critic at all. I am not dealing with theologians in these notes, but with critics." And again of Wellhausen's interpretation of Jno. xix. 25 as implying the presence of only two women and his theory of interpolation, Dom Chapman says (p. 80): "The reason alleged for it simply shows that the exegesis is absurd, not that anything has been interpolated." Yet with a certain naiveté Dom Chapman picks up the reed he has broken and leans on it for support remarking in a footnote (*Ibid*), "This (Wellhausen's statement following immediately the passage just quoted,—"It is presupposed that the mother of Jesus is a widow and that she has no other son") is a sufficiently candid and unprejudiced reply to the theories of Mayor, Zahn etc., that 'the brethren of the Lord' were sons of Joseph and Mary, for these critics are conservative, and accept St. John's historical statements." Commenting upon 1 Jno. i. 1, 2 Dom Chapman says (p. 75f): "The reiteration, the emphasis of this passage leave nothing to be desired. Either the writer was a disciple or he was a liar (with a strong adjective attached)." Upon Harnack's attempt to show that the author "cannot have intended an earthly seeing, Dom Chapman remarks (*Ibid*): "The proof seems rather weak! We are accustomed perhaps to such statements in German, though seldom from Harnack. But in English or French they are rather painful. I will not suppose that Harnack still holds to his theory." The passage from Harnack and the reply of Dom Chapman in his characteristic manner may serve as a fitting conclusion to this notice.

Harnack says: "One must not forget that a Mystic is speaking, who on the one hand can write (John i. 18): *θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε*, and on the other hand (3 John iii. 6): *ὁ κακοποιὼν οὐχ ἑώρακεν τὸν θεόν*, and (1 John iii. 6): *πᾶς ὁ ἁμαρτάνων οὐχ ἑώρακεν (θεόν) οὐδὲ ἔγνωκεν αὐτόν*. What kind of a hearing, seeing, looking upon, tasting it is that he means (compare i. 14), is seen by contrast with the story of Thomas (John xx. 29), which closes with the words: *ὅτι ἑώρακάς με πεπίστευκας*;

μακάριοι οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες. This passage proves that he cannot have intended an earthly seeing, etc., in I John i. 1."

Dom Chapman says: "I suppose I must answer what needs no answer: In John i. 18 it is denied that any one can see God *as He is* (the beatific vision), whereas in 3 John 11 the writer speaks of a mystical friendship with God by contemplation such as holy souls can attain in this life; the distinction is obvious enough, for the first passage simply repeats the Old Testament view, while the other means *ἑώρακεν* in the sense of 'know' (as John xiv. 9, where οὐκ ἔγνωκās με; is followed by ὁ ἑωρακώς ἐμὲ ἑώρακεν τὸν πατέρα), the spiritual knowledge of God obtained by knowing Jesus Christ. Again, in John xx. 29 faith in the Resurrection without sight is praised, as being a more perfect faith; but it is not said that having known of Christ in the flesh is not a great advantage, nor is it in the least suggested that it is better not to have been a personal disciple! In I John i. 1 there is not a word about faith, and the writer is simply asseverating with all his might that he had been a personal disciple and that this witness is to be depended upon. If we say 'he cannot have intended an earthly seeing, etc.,' in this verse, we must say that he could not mean an earthly seeing in John xix. 34-5: 'and immediately there came forth blood and water, and he who saw it hath borne witness' (cp. I John v. 6-9)."

Princeton.

WILLIAM P. ARMSTRONG.

THE BIBLE FOR HOME AND SCHOOL. COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE OF PAUL TO THE GALATIANS by BENJAMIN W. BACON, D.D., LL.D., Buckingham Professor of New Testament Criticism and Exegesis in Yale University. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1909. Pp. vii, 135.

In accordance with the plan of the series, this commentary presupposes no knowledge of Greek and is intended for the use of the general reader. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that it is altogether easy reading. On the contrary, the very brevity of the work has in the case of a writer so full of ideas as Professor Bacon not always been in the interests of perfect clearness. Where the author has allowed himself more room, as for example in Appended Note B., pp. 118ff., his discussion is more illuminating.

In the introduction and in the appended note just mentioned, particular attention has been devoted to the relation between Galatians and Acts (compare the same writer's articles in the American Journal of Theology, 1907, pp. 454-474, and 1909, pp. 59-76). The comparison results very much to the discredit of the latter. Acts is found to manifest the "strongly idealizing tendency of the post-apostolic age", in the first place by representing Paul as applying his gospel of "justification apart from works of the law" not to Jews and not even to himself but only to Gentiles, and in the second place by representing Paul as subordinate to the original apostles. In accordance with his purpose the author of Acts has suppressed Paul's original personal con-

ference with the apostles (Gal. ii, cf. Acts xi. 30, xii. 25), which took place really before the so-called first missionary journey, and has introduced a conference at which Paul appears merely as a delegate of the church at Antioch, and at the instance of the church at Jerusalem agrees to require his Gentile converts to make concessions to the Jewish Christians. It is true, Professor Bacon continues, that second conference has a basis in fact. Paul's personal conference with the original apostles had settled the matter of Gentile freedom from the law, but it had determined no *modus vivendi* in mixed communities. How were the Jewish Christians to preserve their ceremonial purity according to the law and yet hold fellowship with Gentile converts? Paul answered this question by requiring the Jewish Christians in such cases to relinquish their ceremonial purity; the Jerusalem church answered it by the so-called apostolic decrees, which were determined upon in Paul's absence and altogether without his consent. These decrees required not the Jewish Christians but the Gentile Christians to make concessions. The Gentile Christians, though not required to accept circumcision (the original apostles never thought of requiring that, for it would have been manifestly absurd), must abstain from certain things which according to the law would be the most serious obstacles in the way of table companionship with loyal Jews. It was the attempt of "certain men from James" (Gal. ii. 12) to introduce these decrees into Antioch which produced the serious break between Paul on the one hand and Peter, Barnabas and the Antiochian church on the other, which is mentioned in Gal. ii. 11ff., but is suppressed by the author of Acts.

There is a certain attractiveness in such a theory. Professor Bacon's reconstruction of the Apostolic Age is in some respects perhaps easier to understand than the one which results from a more docile attitude towards the sources. Simplicity, however, is no guarantee of historicity. The question is whether Professor Bacon has not substituted the comfortable simplicity of fiction for the baffling complexity of fact. And one thing is incomprehensible even in Professor Bacon's theory—the refined subtlety of dissimulation displayed by the author of Acts. A difference of point of view as compared with Paul may freely be admitted. Indeed in connection with a minor detail, Professor Bacon has himself indicated the true method of harmonizing the two accounts. Paul says (Gal. ii. 2) that he went up to the conference with the apostles by revelation; Acts fortunately supplies the historical occasion by mentioning the Judaizing activity at Antioch (Acts xv. 1). Here Professor Bacon himself admits that there is no "*suppressio veri*". There were external reasons that pressed upon Paul; but he would not have yielded to them except by divine direction. If this method of interpretation be applied more extensively, the contradiction between Paul and Acts will disappear.

Professor Bacon's defence of the South Galatian theory of the address of the Epistle suffers particularly on account of the unsatisfactory treatment of Acts xvi. 6 and xviii. 23. Those verses are

crucial in the whole discussion, but an adequate interpretation of them was hardly possible in a popular work. It is very doubtful whether Gal. iv. 13 can be made to favor the South Galatian view. When Paul says that he preached to the Galatians the former time on account of an infirmity of the flesh, Professor Bacon takes this to mean necessarily that Paul *went* to Galatia on account of illness, and argues that he would not have gone to so remote a district as North Galatia if he had been ill. The passage may mean equally well that Paul *remained* in Galatia on account of illness instead of carrying out an original intention of passing through. At any rate, this interpretation is commonly adopted by the advocates of the North Galatian theory and should not have been altogether ignored.

In Appended Note C, the author states his moral influence theory of the atonement. It is not at all surprising that Professor Bacon advocates such a theory, but it is somewhat more surprising that he attributes it to Paul. For in other respects, he is not at all concerned about defending Paul against the charge of being antiquated. The elimination of the deeper significance of the cross is particularly hard to accomplish in the Epistle to the Galatians. The cross which merely displays God's condemnation of sin and love for the sinner was not the one upon which Paul was crucified unto the world. Gal. iii. 13 ("Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us") is touched upon by Professor Bacon rather lightly. Paul's death unto the law is attenuated until it means merely the despair resulting from moral struggle; his crucifixion together with Christ means merely the act of faith with its agony of separation from the law. In a word, the tremendous teaching of the Epistle is rationalized away in a manner rather surprising in these days of grammatico-historical exegesis. If Paul's gospel were only what Professor Bacon supposes it to have been, the Galatians are hardly to be blamed for falling away. No wonder "the spectacle of Jesus Christ crucified by the very legalism to which they are now invited" did not deter them. What really made Paul marvel was their defection from a cross that had satisfied the law's demands and given them freedom from its awful curse.

The appeal which such a commentary makes to the general reader—"to intelligent Sunday School teachers"—may serve at least one useful purpose. It may help to dispel the astonishing indifference of the American branch of the Church toward historical questions. When such a view of the New Testament as that of Professor Bacon has been transmitted through Sunday School teachers to the rising generation, it will produce a Christianity very different from the religion that has formerly been designated by that name. Professor Bacon's little book should prove even to the most "practical" man that the popularization of the naturalistic view of Christianity is inevitable. No such proof, however, should really have been required; for the march of ideas—false as well as true ideas—is irresistible. New Testament criticism, with all its technicalities, with all its array of strange

German names, even when it has not yet emerged from its academic seclusion is a very practical thing.

Princeton.

J. GRESHAM MACHEN.

THE ETHICS OF ST. PAUL. By ARCHIBALD B. D. ALEXANDER, M.A., Author of "*A Short History of Philosophy*." 8vo; pp. xxiv, 377. The Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth Avenue, New York. 1910. Price, \$2.00 net.

For a quarter of a century the emphasis has been on Biblical as distinguished from systematic theology. This is becoming true of Christian ethics. It is being presented in the order and form of its historical development. Fifteen years ago Dr. W. S. Bruce, M.A., gave us his admirable treatise on "The Ethics of the Old Testament." "Of monographs on the ethical teaching of our Lord there are not many as yet"; but during 1909 a notable one was published by the Rev. James Stalker, M.A., D.D., entitled "The Ethic of Jesus according to the Synoptic Gospels." This, which was pronounced "one of the three great theological works" of that year, was reviewed at some length in our July issue for 1910. Shortly after Dr. Stalker's book was issued the Ethics of Jesus was brought out by Henry Churchill King, D.D., LL.D., President of Oberlin College. This was very favorably reviewed in our October number. And now what might almost be called a companion book comes to us in the subject of this notice. It is like them, too, in being an essay in a comparatively untried field; for "with the exception of a small volume by Ernesti, entitled *Die Ethik des Apostels Paulus*, published in 1868, and one or two papers in English and German periodicals, there is a singular dearth of writings specially devoted to its theme." It is like them also in being based upon "a careful study of the actual words of the Apostle," although it does not, as Dr. King does, question both the received and the revised text and build only on what are called "the assured results of criticism." Mr. Alexander's book is like them again in being great in quality. Indeed, we venture to predict that as Dr. Stalker's it will rank among "the best three theological works of its year." Nay, we may and should go further. For expository skill and for literary grace we do not know of any recent theological treatise that may be compared with it except the masterly discussion by the Aberdeen professor just referred to.

At this point, however, the resemblance between these two notable volumes ends. Their authors have evidently worked independently, and the results are the more valuable on this account. Mr. Alexander does not follow Dr. Stalker even in the respect in which the latter is most original; viz., in his application to the teaching of our Lord of Aristotle's principle of division, that is, the Supreme Good, Virtue and Duty. On the contrary, Mr. Alexander adopts a principle of his own which seems to us to be not less adequate and suggestive. Thus he distributes his particular topics into three main divisions: "1. *Sources and Postulates*, treating not only of the influences which shaped

the early life and thought of Paul, but also of the presuppositions with regard to man's moral nature which he brought over into the new life from his pre-Christian days.

"2. *Ideals and Principles*, dealing with the new Ideal of life, the peculiarity of which, as Paul conceived it, is shown to be that it is at once Norm and Power, Vision and Energy; and the chief forms or virtues in which the ideal is to be realized.

"3. *Duties and Spheres*, indicating the particular obligations prescribed by the Christian ideal and the different spheres amid which the Christian is called upon to exercise the ethical life."

In a work the excellencies of which are so many and so high it is difficult and almost invidious to particularize. For the sake of clearness, however, it may not be amiss to call attention to the following:

1. Mr. Alexander's discussion and establishment of the essential identity of the ethics of Paul and the ethics of Christ. He denies and completely refutes Wrede's position that "Paul is far more widely removed from Jesus than Jesus himself is removed from the noblest form of Jewish piety." On the contrary, he shows that "the inmost spring, the very fons et origo of vital religion in the new life of love and helpfulness is the same for both." Indeed, as religion for Paul begins "with the weakness which takes hold of the divine strength, with the want which brings its empty vessel to the fulness of God;" so the Sermon on the Mount (between which and Paul it is so often asserted that there is no vital point of contact) opens with the announcement, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," and "that great saying of Jesus needs only to be analyzed to yield the whole principle of the Pauline dialectic and the living heart of the whole of the Pauline religion." "In perfect agreement with all this is the fundamental importance assigned both by Jesus and by Paul to faith." "It is the inspiration and dynamic of life, the ruling principle in shaping conduct." With regard, moreover, to the aim and purpose of life, "we find the Master and the disciple in substantial agreement." "Nor do they differ in their conception of the ultimate goal of the world." In a word, "there is everywhere identity of spirit and aim, and in not a few instances a striking similarity of language."

2. The chapter on "The Shaping Influences of Paul's Teaching." These are shown to have been his Hebrew ancestry and training, his Graeco-Roman environment, and, above all, the influence of Christ in his conversion. Of special interest is the discussion of the relation of the Pauline ethics to Stoicism. The conclusion to which the chapter comes and which we cannot but feel to be just is that, "We must protest against the tendency to account for the Apostle Paul by 'eclectic patchwork.' Let us allow that Paul was acquainted with Philo (though Pfeleiderer doubts this), let us admit that he was intimate with Alexandrian philosophy and more especially with the Book of Wisdom, which is a literary product of the same Greek spirit, let us acknowledge his cognizance of Stoicism and his study under its famous teachers in Tarsus, yet who can doubt that these elements are all

transmuted and worked up by the creative mind of the Apostle into something entirely new and original? Neither this Hebrewism nor Hellenism will account for this man and his teaching. He marks a new beginning. He breaks with the past and sets forth upon a fresh and undiscovered path of religion and ethical thought. It is not the amalgamation of Hellenism and Hebrewism, but the conquest of both for his Master that assigns to Paul his high place in the world's history."

3. The presentation of "The Psychology of St. Paul." As against Wernle, the Apostle assumed, that man had originally "not only a certain knowledge of duty, but also a substratum of natural endowments and faculties upon which the Christian life was to be reared;" and this natural endowment or human nature is analyzed, described and set forth in its relation to the ethical life with peculiar, and, the reviewer had almost said, with unique lucidity. Specially good are the "Statement and Examination of Terms," the establishment of dichotomy as Paul's doctrine, and the refutation of the teaching that he disparaged the body and found in it as such the source of sin.

4. Not less excellent, on the other hand, is Mr. Alexander's conception of the Apostle's view of the Christian life. "It is not a new personality so much as the completion and fulfilment of the old." Yet it is essentially *divine*, both as to the origin from which it is derived and the source from which it is perpetually maintained." It is the divine realization of the truly natural life. Even its most material and concrete elements are to be viewed "sub specie aeternitatis." The moral task of the Christian is not so much "to copy Christ"—"there are aspects of his personality and work, and these the most unique and distinctive, which are not, and were never meant to be, the object of human imitation"—it is rather "to let his life take form in us, to receive his spirit and make it effective." "The distinctiveness of the Christian life, then, consists in the indwelling of the living God within the heart as a guiding and purifying spirit." Hence, "our relation to God is most inadequately described by the word duty. There is no such thing as *mere* duty to God. We never indeed do our duty to God until we cease to do it—as duty. He who only does what is right from a sense of obligation does not do what is right at all. Goodness which is only the dictate of necessity is not really goodness. In relation to God, as indeed in all our other relationships, Paul's own great saying is true, 'love is the fulfilling of the law.' And, as it is in Christ God reveals his love to us, so Christ becomes the medium through which our love returns to him." This love, however, is not a mere emotion. It rests on knowledge and results in surrender to God's will. "This emphasis on knowledge—true knowledge not divorced from its intuitional constituents and checked at every point by its ethical results—is a distinctive feature of Paul's teaching. For him all right relations and duties on the part of man to God are based on intelligent understanding of the divine being and character. Man must serve God as well as praise him

'with the understanding also.' In line with this is even the Apostle's attitude toward the self-regarding virtues. There is an almost entire absence of precepts with reference to these. It may be that Paul dwells so lightly on them because the Greek communities to which he wrote emphasized them so much. Yet the chief reason would seem to be that, like his Master, "he regarded the true realization of self as identical with self-sacrifice." In a word, it was because he understood self that he appeared indifferent to it.

5. The discussion of "Duties and Spheres." This is thorough and suggestive. "Duties in Relation to Self," "Duties in Relation to Others," "Duties in the Sphere of the Family," "Duties in Relation to the State, the Christian's Relation to God, the Church and the Future," and "the Ethical Ultimate of St. Paul" are all carefully and exhaustively considered in the light of the principles and precepts of the Apostle. Yet there is nothing strained or far-fetched. There is no attempt to conjecture how Paul would have decided modern questions which never could have come before him. On the contrary—and this is one of the chief distinctions as well as one of the great excellencies of this exposition—the Apostle is expressly represented as overlooking much that interests us deeply. His views as to the speedy second coming of our Lord underwent a change. It is evident that in his later epistles he no longer regarded it as imminent. This, however, did not weaken, nay, it rather strengthened his conviction that "the one supreme task of man was the bringing of his fellows to Christ." Hence, for example, there is no "elaboration by Paul of the modern idea that all labor has a moral worth in the civilization of the world and the development of its resources." In his view, "'everything was to be subservient to the evangelization of the world,' and all secular work had its justification for the Christian only in so far as it afforded him the means of furthering that object." Is it not such teaching as this, and as faithfully and as bravely put, that the church of our day needs most to hear? Undoubtedly, God would use the Christian to redeem and so develop the earth which he made "very good" and which sin has marred: but in the light of the teaching of Christ no less than of Paul, it is to save sinners that we as well as our Master have been sent into the world; and we often forget it.

Of course, in commending Mr. Alexander's book so highly we do not mean that we go with him in all respects. Thus we can not accept his presentation of Paul's view of marriage. To us it seems that it was "the expectation which the Apostle shared with his Christian contemporaries of the approaching end of the age and his belief that those who married would have trouble in the flesh in the time of suffering close at hand" that impelled him to the teaching as to marriage given in 1 Cor. vii. We can not admit, that he had "failed to shake himself free from the ascetic tendencies of his day"; that he looked upon wedded life from the sexual point of view chiefly; and that he regarded marriage as but "a permission to obviate greater evils." Rather would we hold that Paul, while recognizing that mar-

riage does obviate serious evils, gives in Eph. v. 32, his final and true doctrine of marriage; viz., that it is "the type of the close spiritual union which subsists between Christ and his Church:" and what we do not understand is why Mr. Alexander, although he refers to this passage, seems to attach little importance to it. So, too, we are obliged to differ from him in his interpretation of 1 Tim. iii. 2 and Titus i. 6. He regards these passages as forbidding second marriages to presbyters. To us they teach that, like other men, a presbyter should be irreproachable in his family life; i. e., must not be a polygamist: and this view would appear to be confirmed by the fact that the alternative one of Mr. Alexander involves two unscriptural assumptions; one, the superior holiness of the clergy, the other, the superior sanctity of celibacy. We could wish also that there had been a fuller discussion of the Apostle's attitude with reference to things "lawful but not expedient," as considered in Rom. xiv and 1 Cor. viii and x. These criticisms, however, are not meant to detract from the merit of the book. They refer merely to minor matters. They indicate simply the reviewer's preference; and he would not venture to make them, did he not feel that Mr. Alexander's work is of too high an order to be in any wise affected by them.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

DIE REDEN UNSERES HERRN NACH JOHANNES im Grundtext ausgelegt von D. SIEGFRIED GOEBEL. Zweite Hälfte, Kap. 12-21. Gütersloh, C. Bertelsmann. 8vo, pp. 460. 1910.

In this second volume of 460 pages Dr. Goebel completes his exposition of the Discourses of Jesus in John's Gospel. The entire work as we now have it consists of something over a thousand pages. When it is remembered that the book contains but a very brief introduction and that a great deal of the material ordinarily found in a work of this nature, as e. g., a complete array of views held by other expositors, is judiciously barred from it, the commentary is perhaps the most elaborate there is on the subject. What was remarked in the brief review of Vol. I. holds true also of Vol. II. The characteristic features which distinguished the first volume are continued here. Though the exposition is along strictly conservative lines, it is not marred by any dogmatic prepossessions on the part of its author. The passages of dogmatic character in the commentary the author does not regard as part of the exegesis proper but invariably introduces them as conclusions from results exegetically obtained. Dr. Goebel is constantly on his guard against "Eintragungen" into the text. In one or two places, interpreting passages of disputed meaning, he incidentally states what he recognizes to be sound canons of interpretation. Cf. p. 370: "The expositor's task is to determine the sense which the words convey in the connection in which they have been placed by their author." Cf. also pp. 25, 424, 427. Whether Dr. Goebel remains throughout true to this principle in the judgment of

the reader is, of course, another question. Cap. xii. 3, e. g., states, according to Dr. Goebel, that all the ointment has been spent. Cf. also exposition of Cap. xiv. 1-2.

Written in a lucid, stately, vigorous style, the material well paragraphed and divided into larger units, the commentary on the Discourses is itself somewhat similar to a series of discourses. It would seem that what we have here is substantially the material the author used for his "Johannes-Colleg." At least the reading of the book suggests the lectures in Exegesis of the German University Auditorium. This feature of the book adds in a way to its value and, together with the interesting, readable form into which it has been cast, goes to make it a happy exception to the general output of exegetical works. It is not, however, to be supposed that Dr. Goebel's commentary is merely popular in its nature, not meeting the requirements of the scholar. The book will satisfy the most rigorous demands that may be put upon it by the "Fachmann." But Dr. Goebel does understand the art of writing for a larger circle than that of the scholar. His commentary is a book appealing to the theological world in general. Though practical suggestions occur in it but rarely, the exposition reflects to such an extent the author's spiritual life and maturity of Christian thought, that it will prove to be of great value also to the clergyman.

As in Vol I., so here, there is no evidence that some of the more recent works dealing with the Greek text of the Gospel have been consulted. Since the author not unfrequently ventures on a new line of interpretation in difficult passages where the genuineness of the text is itself a matter of doubt, consideration of the latest text-proposals would have been desirable and at times profitable. A case in point is Cap. xx.17 *μή μου ἄπτου· οὐπω γὰρ ἀναβέβηκα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα* where it is in the first place the *γάρ* that vexes the interpreter. Dr. Goebel's interpretation, which, it must be said, is very felicitous, does not do justice to the *γάρ*. In the course of his argument he once omits it, and on p. 380 contends that the clause *οὐπω γὰρ ἀναβέβηκα κ.τ.λ.* by itself does not give a "Begründung" for *μή μου ἄπτου*. Now Blass omits *γάρ* in his edition of John on the authority of Syrus Lewisianus (Chrys) Tert. These authorities, it is true, one may not deem very weighty, still the text as thus proposed suits, better than any other, what seems to be the necessary meaning of the passage.

I pass on to present Dr. Goebel's interpretation of one or two passages of the Discourses. In Cap. xiii. 34 *ἐντολὴν καινὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους κ.τ.λ.* Dr. Goebel seeks to determine what constitutes the new in *ἐντολὴ καινὴ*. The new he finds to be of the sameness of the "Liebesobject." They are to love *oneanother* even as Christ loved *them*. From this, remarks Goebel, there will result also a change in the *nature* of the love enjoined. Dr. Goebel offers what seems to be a new interpretation of Cap. xiv. 1-2: *ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ . . . εἰσιν* he connects closely with *πιστεύετε εἰς τὸν θεόν* and *εἰ δὲ μή, εἶπον ἂν ὑμῖν κ.τ.λ.* with *καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ πιστεύετε*. The completed thought of

εἰ δὲ μὴ he takes to be εἰ δὲ μὴ πιστεύετε ὅτι οὕτως ἐστίν, not εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως ἦν. The sense of the passage Goebel reproduces as follows (p. 100): "If, in your present despondency, your faith in the Father, that he has mansions for you, should not be sufficiently strong to comfort you, then I would ask you to put your trust in me, assuring you that I go to prepare a place for you." According to Dr. Goebel we have a parallel construction in vs. 11, πιστεύετε εἰ δὲ μὴ. There is a similarity there; but a closer study and comparison of the two passages show essential differences. In vs. 11 only one πιστεύετε precedes εἰ δὲ μὴ, in vs. 1-2 two. Furthermore, in vs. 1-2 there is between the last πιστεύετε and εἰ δὲ μὴ an independent clause. Dr. Goebel virtually makes this independent assertion a dependent object-clause after the first (!) πιστεύετε. Then, again, Goebel's exposition of ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ εἰσιν on p. 100 as being a "Versicherung in bezug auf Gott" is, not to say erroneous, misleading.

An undoubtedly correct observation is Goebel's remark, p. 123, that in Cap. xiv. 12 sqq. we have not so much one "Trost" following another (Goebel is perhaps thinking here of Weiss) as, first, a "Zusage für das Beharren im Glauben," and second, a "Zusage für das Beharren in der Liebe zu Jesus." In his commentary on παράκλητος Cap. xiv. 16, Dr. Goebel takes exception to the usual renderings of Tröster, Lehrer (v. Hofmann Zahn), Beistand (the prevalent translation). "Beistand" he considers too indefinite, not bringing out the idea which is there in παράκλητος, viz., assistance *over against a third*, the world. He chooses "Beigeordneter" and interprets παράκλητος as "one who is to be with the disciples to assist them, by his teaching, in the keeping of Christ's commandments, and in the administering of His word, and who as their 'Bundesgenosse,' by His own testimony, is to support them in their testifying before the world." ἐὰν μὴ τις μένη ἐν ἐμοί, ἐβλήθη ἔξω κ.τ.λ. Cap. xv. 6, Goebel takes it, are addressed also to the "Eleven". He observes this to be rather remarkable and is led to infer from it "that Jesus must have regarded "Abfall" as possible also in the case of the καθαροί" taking "Abfall," as it seems, not as final or absolute.

It may not be without interest to know that Dr. Goebel's work represents in general rather the Reformed than the Lutheran type of theological thought. In the course of his exposition he frequently discovers to us what looks like landmarks of his theological system. In Cap. xii. 32 πάντας ἐλκύσω πρὸς ἐμαυτόν the verb ἐλκύειν can not denote a mere "Versuch des Ziehens," but is a "wirksames" ἐλκύειν with definite and certain results. And πάντας "duldet keine Ausnahme" and, on the other hand, is a limited number, not to be expanded to πάντας ἀνθρώπους. Man leads his life "in der unveräusserlichen Form der Freiheit", p. 176 (Cap. xv. 6). Those who desert Christ never really belonged to the number of true believers, p. 175. God's grace preserves the true believers and is "ihres Endziels unbedingt sicher." Human logic cannot solve the question of the relation between "göttliche Allwirksamkeit" and "menschliche Freiheit." At the close of

his exposition of the Paraclete-passage, Cap. xvi. 7 sq. Dr. Goebel casts a retrospect and in his argument urges that the personification of *παράκλητος* cannot be the personification of a "Prinzip" or mere "geistige Potenz" but must imply that He is a real Person. Also on points of Christology Goebel makes some very explicit statements. *νῦν ἔγνωκαν ὅτι πάντα ὅσα δέδωκάς μοι παρὰ σοῦ εἰσιν*, Cap. xvii. 7 (p. 272-273) proves that the "object" of the disciples' knowledge is a "jede Art von Verneinung der Göttlichkeit Jesu ausschliessendes." And in connection with Cap. xvii. 5 (p. 268) he observes that Jesus is indubitably speaking here of His premundane existence, of His sharing at that time with the Father in the divine glory, of His assured "dass er die zeitweilig entbehrte Herrlichkeit nunmehr wiederempfangen werde." The passage excludes the possibility of "ein ideelles Vordasein im göttlichen Ratschluss." The *δόξα* of Jesus, p. 304, is "die wesenhafte Göttlichkeit seiner Person als des fleischgewordenen Logos." After His resurrection Christ possesses "eine neugearbete, zum himmlischen Leben beim Vater bestimmte Leiblichkeit." Cf. also Thomas' confession, Cap. xx. 28, p. 412, and what Goebel says in this connection on the Church's creed.

Corrigenda are p. 5, l. 10 könnten; l. 19 *μύρον*; p. 7, l. 17 nicht; p. 29, l. 25 das; p. 60, l. 7 (from below) Einfallt; p. 64, l. 22 *κάθώς*; p. 89, l. 19 *ἐντολή*; p. 99, l. 16 the first "eine" (should be "keine"); l. 11 *ἔλεγον*; p. 100, l. 12 *ἔστιν*; p. 101, l. 4 (from below) *ἔρχομα*; p. 127, l. 6 *παρά* *καλῶν*; p. 139, l. 1 (below) beidet; p. 182, l. 13 in (to be omitted); p. 187 l. 10, Jt; p. 192, l. 15 wiederholl; p. 202, l. 9 dopelter; p. 246, l. 1 *παρι* *ομίαις*; p. 276, l. 2 (from below) au; p. 308, l. 6 parenthesis omitted; p. 329, l. 22 beläufig; p. 337, l. 13 dranssen; p. 354, l. 2 (from below) sächlich; p. 414, l. 8 (from below) underem; p. 436, l. 14 *Σίμων*; p. 439, l. 3 (from below) An derseits hatsich; p. 452, l. 9 des (omit); p. 455, l. 21, second die (omit).
R. JANSSEN.

CLARK D. LAMBERTON: THEMES FROM ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL IN EARLY ROMAN CATACOMB PAINTING. A Thesis presented to the Faculty of Princeton University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Princeton, 1911, Princeton University Press. 146 pp.; xii plates; 8vo.

Dr. Lamberton's thesis has in view two objects: first, to determine the date of the Fourth Gospel from evidence afforded by the frescoes of the Roman catacombs, and second, to ascertain the extent to which the Gospel was used as a source for catacomb painting. The Raising of Lazarus, a theme found only in John, is painted on the walls of a very early crypt in the catacomb of Priscilla, called from the Greek inscriptions found in it by the workmen who excavated the catacomb the *Capella Greca*, or "Greek Chapel." If the date of this "chapel" can be fixed, it can be used as a *terminus ad quem* for the date of the Gospel, inasmuch as the painter of the Raising of Lazarus must have been acquainted with it. To argue that the painter might have drawn

the episode from Christian tradition, and not from the Gospel in the form in which we know it, is inconsistent with the known tendency in catacomb painting to adhere to the written word of accepted Scripture, even to the extent of ignoring the Apocryphal Gospels.

Nearly half of the monograph is devoted to this question of the date of the "Greek Chapel", the author evidently feeling that this portion of his thesis, of prime importance to New Testament criticism, will be scrutinized most closely. Every available piece of evidence—technique and style of the frescoes, iconography, costume, the relation of the "chapel" to the rest of the catacomb, epigraphy—is carefully analyzed and applied to the problem, with the result that the "chapel" is pronounced to be of a "period extending from the late first century to the early decades of the second", while the date of the composition of the Gospel, allowing a term of years for its circulation and popularization in Rome, is placed in or before the latter years of the first century. Little direct evidence is adduced, but the cumulative effect of Dr. Lamberton's prints is most convincing. It is also to be noted that his conclusions are the same as those of Wilpert and Mau, our foremost experts in Roman fresco-painting.

The rest of the thesis concerns itself with investigating the use of the Fourth Gospel by the catacomb painters. The writer rightly accepts the view that the general intent of the frescoes in *Roma Sotterranea* is symbolical, while disagreeing with Wilpert, who would admit but one meaning to each theme. He points out that the spiritual character of the Fourth Gospel made it an admirable source for such symbolical painting, and that such use was made of it is demonstrated by the extensive cycle of Eucharistic pictures, such as the Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes and the Miracle of Water and Wine at Cana, of which the inspiration is undeniably Johannine. The Cana miracle indeed is only found in John, as also the episode of the Samaritan woman, which occurs four times in the second and third centuries, and the Raising of Lazarus, one of the most popular of all themes in the repertory of the catacomb artist.

In his discussion of "themes archaeologically Johannine", i. e. themes occurring also in the Synoptics, but assigned to John because found in connection with subjects of Johannine inspiration, the writer's conclusions are less convincing, because his premises are themselves matters of controversy. The same is true of the section entitled "themes characteristically Johannine" which amounts to little more than a series of suggested interpretations.

But Dr. Lamberton, in demonstrating that the Fourth Gospel was known and highly regarded in Rome in the early years of the second century, has demonstrated something more—the practical value to students of the New Testament of an acquaintance with Early Christian Archaeology. It is to be hoped that other students will follow him into this archaeological criticism, and obtain as happy results as those which have rewarded his studies.

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C. R. MOREY.

HISTORICAL THEOLOGY

BIBLIOTHECA REFORMATORIA NEERLANDICA. Geschriften uit den tyd der Hervorming in de Nederlanden. Op. nieuw uitgegeven en van inleidingen en aanteekeningen voorzien, door DR. S. CRAMER en DR. F. PYPER. Zesde Deel. Bewerkt door Dr. F. Pyper. s'Gravenhage. Martinus Nyhoff. 1909.

Before me lies the sixth volume of 622 quarto pages of this astounding labor of Professors Cramer and Pyper, of the Universities of Amsterdam and Leyden. As the work proceeds it grows in magnitude and, let me say, in importance as well. Hereafter the student of the history and theology of the age of the Reformation, and that immediately preceding it, will have to reckon with this Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica, a very thesaurus of information, for light on many things, which without its study must remain forever dark. It is a great pity that the bulk of this colossal work is available only for the student, who understands Dutch, and at that the Dutch of the 15th and 16th centuries. And yet without the consultation of this great work one's knowledge of the Reformatory period cannot be complete.

The volume before us has been edited by Dr. F. Pyper of Leyden and, barring the introductions, is open to the general student, since the text of it is wholly in Latin. But, alas, the text without the introduction is like a locked door without its key. One wonders what most to admire in the labors of these two Dutch scholars, their infinite patience or their infinite historical and critical acumen. For surely the introductions to these reprints of long lost books are models of historical and textual criticism.

The present volume deals with the writings of John Pupper of Goch and incidentally of Cornelius Graphaeus. Of the latter, whose tragic story is told in the Introduction to "De Libertate Christiana," by Dr. Pyper, we have introductions to the above quoted work, to the "Epistola Apologetica," a poem to Emperor Charles V and a letter to Carondolet. Of Pupper of Goch we have "De Libertate Christiana" and "Fragmenta." Besides, we find in this volume a reprint of the celebrated but well-nigh forgotten "Confutatio determinationis doctorum Parrhiensium contra Mart. Luth.," together with the even more rare "Disputatio Groningae."

From this volume we learn to know Pupper of Goch as a man worthy to be ranked with the best of the disciples of the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life. His earliest history is somewhat hazy, but we are fairly well acquainted with his later activity and literary labors, which Dr. Clemen has so vividly described in his "Johann Pupper of Goch. Leipzig 1896." After an eventful life he died March 28, 1475, and since 1531 all his writings were indexed by the Inquisition. The reading of this volume, edited by Dr. Pyper, at once establishes the fact that the views expressed by the Reformers were by no means new in their day. The entire century

preceding that of the Reformation was evidently preparatory to it. But the Church of the 15th century was not as yet aroused to a sense of the danger of the new ideas, which were expressed on every side and especially in the Lowlands, where ideas were openly expressed and discussed, which half a century later would have brought down on the author the heavy hand of the Inquisition. The chief work of Pupper of Goch, here reprinted from a couple of surviving copies, is entitled "*De Libertate Christiana*." It is written in good, though not elegant, Latin and dates apparently from 1473. Practically all the doctrines of the Romish Church of the period are discussed in this work and Pupper, like all the later Reformers, shows a keen familiarity with the Augustinian literature. He lays great stress on the doctrine of grace. The Scriptures, rather than tradition, are the basis of truth, although he has not yet arrived at the position of the Reformers in this matter. He still holds the Church to be the repository of the truth. He fully believes in predestination and election. Fasting, continence and good works have only a relative value. Works of supererogation do not exist. When we read this work of Pupper, we are strangely reminded of the theology of John Wickliffe.

Had Pupper studied him? Who can tell? All these pre-reformers have almost identical views, and all were close students of the works of Augustine. Pupper antagonizes monasticism, and believes in a justifying faith which rests on the Scriptures, for man's natural reason is illuminated in the Scriptures by the light of a supernatural knowledge—"veritas canonica et supernaturalis naturale lumen rationis perficit." We may tolerate what is not contradicted by the Scriptures, but never anything that conflicts with them. He bitterly antagonizes the regnant Aristotelian Philosophy, and thus again leads the way to the Reformation, as did all the German Mystics. This philosophical tendency leads him to oppose Thomas Aquinas and the Thomists. Pupper is limited by the limitations of his day, but as Dr. Pyper tells us—"a fresh spirit here sends out its cooling breath. If one takes the trouble to analyze the external scholastic form and to penetrate to the marrow of the thought itself, the trouble taken is always richly rewarded."

The second work of Pupper, here reproduced, was brought to Luther from Holland in 1521, and he at once republished it with an introduction of his own hand. It is entitled "*Fragmenta*" and consists of tracts on different topics. With singular critical acumen Dr. Pyper has proven (pp. 268, 269) that the introduction, "*epistola gratulatoria*," is from the hand of Luther. The same keenness is displayed in the discussion of the identity of the component parts of the *Fragmenta* (p. 276). Dr. Pyper believes, although he is not absolutely sure, that the "*Monimenta*" of Walch (*Monimenta medii aevi, ex bibliotheca regia Hannoverana, prod. et praef. est C. G. F. Walchius. Goetting. 1761*) and the *Bibl. Ref. Neerl.* in this volume contain all the works left by Pupper of Goch. Space forbids a detailed discussion of the matter contained in these "*Fragmenta*." Their theology is identical

with that of the above mentioned work. They breathe the same Augustinian spirit and singularly attracted Luther. According to Graphaeus they were composed in 1474, probably after "De Libertate Christiana." Appended to the *Fragmenta* is the introduction of Cornelius Graphaeus, written in 1520 for the first tract entitled "Epistola Apologetica," which coupled with another introduction, written for "De Libertate Christiana," brought the author in contact with the Inquisition, hopelessly impoverished him through the confiscation of all his property and nearly cost him his life. Lacking the courage of martyrdom, he made an abject apology and barely escaped with his life, dying in the Catholic faith Dec. 19, 1558. At the close of this volume we find a Latin poem of eight quarto pages, dedicated by the same Graphaeus to the Emperor Charles V, entitled "Divi Caroli Emp. Caes. Opt. Max. Desyderatissimus ex Hispania in Germaniam Reditus. Cor. Graphaeo Autore. MDXX." This fulsome poem is reprinted here for the one reason that it advocates the absolute worldly authority of the emperor and would take away from the pope all civil power, leaving to him exclusively the spiritual care of the Church and of Christendom. As such it is a sign of the times and, as Dr. Pyper observes, deserves a place in this collection.

I must refer to one more remarkable reprint of a well-nigh forgotten book of the Reformatory period, here restored to general notice, and that is the "Confutatio determinationis Doctorum Parrhiensium contra M. L.," to which is added the "Disputatio Groningae habita A. 1523," equally rare if not more so. Both indicate how deeply the Lutheran movement, from the very start, had laid hold on the Lowlands. The argument of Dr. Pyper, that the author of the "Confutatio" was a Hollander, seems to be unanswerable. The Latin flows with magnificent ease and is, as Dr. Pyper assures us (p. 368), fully able to stand the test of a comparison with that of Melancthon in his "Loci Communes" and in the Augsburg Confession of 1530. The Parisian faculty had declared its position unequivocally on the revolutionary doctrines, proclaimed by Martin Luther, and this unknown author attacks their deliverances point by point, with an acumen and spirit, which proclaim him a finished scholar and a keen dialectician. He is enthusiastically in favor of Luther's doctrine, and again betrays his Erasmian sympathies step by step. The reading of this tract is indispensable for a correct knowledge of the attitude of intelligent Hollanders to the reformatory movement of the 16th century. The narrative of the Groningen disputation is of the same character and indicates how deeply the Dutch clergy were infected by the new spirit and how dispassionately they were able to discuss these matters, before the "Placards" of Charles V had begun to crush out the new life.

All in all this sixth volume of the *Bibl. Ref. Neerl.* is one of the richest of the series thus far.

Louisville, Ky.

HENRY E. DOSKER.

ANCIENT CHURCH DEDICATIONS IN SCOTLAND: Scriptural Dedications.

By JAMES MURRAY MACKINLAY, M.A. Pp. xxiii., 419 with map; 9x5½ in. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1910. 12 s. 6 d. net.

In this well got up and beautifully printed volume Mr. Mackinlay has gathered a vast amount of material relating to topography, ecclesiology and church architecture. His main purpose, however, as stated in the preface, is "(1) to give some account of the Cathedrals, Parish and Collegiate Churches, Chapels, Hospitals and Monasteries under the invocation of Saints mentioned in Holy Scripture (2) to trace the influence that these Saints have had on ecclesiastical festivals, usages, and symbolism." The first chapter is devoted to a discussion of the subjects of Dedication and Consecration. These are of special interest to students of Scottish Church History owing to the line of demarcation existing between the usages of the Celtic and the Roman Catholic Churches. The Celtic Churches, according to the usage pointed out by Mr. Haddan, were named after the missionaries who were instrumental in planting them; they were not, as in the Roman Catholic Church, dedicated to foreign saints. This rule, while it has a few exceptions, is sufficiently well marked to be one of the distinctive features of Celtic hagiology. In the volume before us Mr. Mackinlay does not deal with the Celtic Church but promises to do so in a forthcoming volume on Scottish Non-Scriptural dedications. All students interested in Church History will find the volume a most interesting and valuable collection of facts gathered from all sources. The work shows considerable research and is highly creditable to Mr. Mackinlay's indefatigable industry. It is prefaced by a useful bibliography of works consulted in the preparation of the book extending to thirteen pages and concludes with an Appendix dealing with such matters as the Symbols of the Evangelists, St. Mark at Venice, St. Luke as Artist, the Conversion of the Celtic Community at Inchaffray into an Augustinian Monastery, St. Tear's Chapel, St. John's Eve, the Founding of Holyrood Abbey. By this book Mr. Mackinlay has increased his reputation as a student working in the by-ways of Scottish Church history and the present volume will take an honorable place besides his former *Folk-lore of Scottish Lochs and Springs and Influence of the Pre-Reformation Church on Scottish Place-names*. It is written in an interesting style and whets the appetite for the promised volume on non-Scriptural dedications which from the nature of the subject lends itself to an even more interesting treatment.

Wick, Scotland.

D. BEATON.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES: DIVISIONS AND UNIONS, IN SCOTLAND, IRELAND, CANADA, AND AMERICA. By JOHN VANT STEPHENS, D.D., Chairman of the Faculty and Professor of Church History in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary of the South and Southwest. Philadelphia: The Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1910. 12mo; pp. vii, 111. Price, 75 cents net.

The somewhat spacious title for this little book must be interpreted in the light of the author's modest purpose, which was not the preparation of "a complete history of the various Presbyterian and Reformed churches in Scotland, Ireland, Canada, and the United States of America," but simply the giving of "a brief outline only, by statement and diagram, of the origins, divisions and unions, which will enable the reader readily to trace the continuity of these various bodies." This useful task has been well performed. For many an inquiring student of such matters these concisely written chapters, and the four charts accompanying them, will be a serviceable guide in helping him to make or improve his first acquaintance with ecclesiastical Presbyterianism in its diverse historical developments.

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

LES ORIGINES DU DOGME DE LA TRINITÉ, par JULES LEBRETON, Professeur d'Histoire des Origines Chrétiennes à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie. 1910. 8vo; pp. xxvi. 569.

This goodly volume is the first to appear of a pair designed to contain a *History of the Doctrine of the Trinity from its Beginnings to Augustine*. It confines itself to what is here called the "Beginnings", that is, to the Biblical period; leaving to the forthcoming second volume the task of tracing the formulation of the doctrine through the three hundred years or more which stretch between the New Testament and Augustine's great treatise *On the Trinity* in which the doctrine finds its relatively complete statement. The division between the two volumes falls at the right point, at the line which separates the history of the delivery of the doctrine from that of its formulation. We could wish, however, that the essential difference between the revelation and the appropriation of the doctrine had been more strongly marked; and that the author had frankly undertaken to trace in his first volume the progressive revelation of the doctrine and in the second the gradual appropriation of it. Instead of that, he speaks of the whole work as occupied in tracing "the development of a doctrine"; and describes his task in this, his first volume, as an attempt "to seize in their diversity the multiple echoes which the revelation" of this doctrine "awakened in the human souls" of the several Biblical writers,—"the faith and life which it called forth in them." Should we take this statement at the foot of the letter, this first volume should be occupied in the rather delicate inquiry into what Peter and Paul and John and the rest really understood and believed about the doctrine which was revealed through them; and that is not what we are particularly interested in, and not what M. Lebreton is particularly interested in. What both he and we

are interested in is the doctrine of the Trinity as it has been revealed in the New Testament and as it has been formulated by the church. And in point of fact he does not write in this volume a history of opinion on the Trinity in the Apostolic age, but a history "of the teaching of the different sacred authors," with an effort no doubt "to signalize the differences of aspect, the individual shades", which distinguish the teaching of each, but above all with an effort to determine just what has been revealed to us as to the mode of existence of the Divine Being. The book is, then, better than its promise; it is, indeed, a very excellent study of "the origins of the doctrine of the Trinity," written with adequate knowledge, and in full view of modern discussion. The author takes the term "origins" here, however, in a very wide sense, and does not, in point of fact, come to grips with, specifically, the doctrine of the Trinity as it lies in the New Testament at all,—contenting himself with showing in a rich and careful discussion how the elements which enter into this doctrine are dealt with by the New Testament writers.

The book is divided into three major sections. The first of these is entitled "The Hellenic Environment"; the second, "The Jewish Preparation"; and the third, "The Christian Revelation". "Of these three parts of which the study is composed," the author remarks in his Introduction, "the third alone, which, it is true, is the longest, is directly devoted to the history of the doctrine of the Trinity. The second has for its object the different doctrines which prepared the Jews for this revelation; no justification of its necessity or explanation of its bearing is needed. The first part, on the other hand, may seem beside the mark; when the question concerns the Christian Trinity why speak of pagan mythologies or Hellenic speculations on the logos and on the Spirit?" Certainly not, he answers, in order to discover the source of the Christian doctrine; the chief value of the discussion is rather the demonstration which it provides that the source of the Christian doctrine would be sought in these mythologies and speculations in vain; to which is added the further service that a survey of these mythologies and speculations enables us "to appreciate by comparison, the transcendence of the Christian doctrine," long familiarity with which may have blunted our sense of its superhuman quality.

In any event M. Lebreton's exposition of the Hellenic environment into which Christianity was thrust at its origin is most illuminating, and fairly justifies his prevision that a study of the heathen systems as wholes will quite deliver us from the temptation of seeking starting-points for particular Christian doctrines in isolated expressions—like the Stoic *Logos*, or the *Spiritus sacer* of Seneca—which when torn from their context in their own system may with a little adjustment be made to seem closely parallel to Christian conceptions. He presents this exposition under the three heads of "God and the Gods", in which he examines in turn the popular religion of the day, including the Emperor-cult, the philosophical interpretations, and especially the religious philosophies, with the emphasis on Stoic monism and neo-

Pythagorean and neo-Platonic transcendentalism; the Logos theories in their origins and in their Old-Stoic, Alexandrian and neo-Platonic, and neo-Stoic developments; and the current ideas of "the Spirit". The conclusions which he reaches as well as the spirit in which he carries on his investigation are well illustrated in the following words with which he closes this discussion. "In the need of souls, Christianity was to find a force; in the diverse philosophical conceptions which we have expounded it could find little but obstacles and dangers. To-day, after twenty centuries we experience great difficulty in representing to ourselves exactly this conflict of doctrines. When, by a laborious analysis, we have succeeded in reconstructing the principal religious theories which could come into contact with the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, we discover between these two bodies of conceptions so profound a contrast that we can scarcely conceive the possibility of an equivocation and much less still of a compromise. What relation could exist between the Word, Son of God, and this logos, force and law of the world, which is in each of us the germ of life, the principle of thought, and of the moral law? How could the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, be confounded with this inflamed air which penetrates all beings, encompasses them and animates them? This contrast was less clearly perceived in the second century: the Stoic theories were familiar to all cultivated minds; the Christian doctrines were almost unknown; when therefore they heard a God spoken of who filled the whole universe, an incarnate Logos, a Spirit dwelling in each of us, they naturally interpreted it all, in a Stoic sense, of a material soul which penetrated the world and animated man. In the very bosom of the church the confusion was not always escaped, and we recognize in the theology of more than one ecclesiastical writer vestiges of those philosophies which he had professed in his youth and the reign of which about him he was still conscious . . . In this age of compromise when we see nothing but eclecticism in philosophy and syncretism in religion the church needed a strength more than human to preserve for its faith its uncompromising transcendence, to defend the purity of its doctrine against its enemies, and sometimes even against its own teachers. The three first centuries of our history tell us how long and cruel those struggles were; the fourth shows us how fecund they were."

In passing from the Gentile to the Jewish world, we enter a new atmosphere, an atmosphere which is dominated by a profound sense of a personal God ruling over all things, and in which can be traced a positive preparation for the revelation of the Triune God. M. Lebreton treats this "Jewish preparation" under the three heads of "The Old Testament", "Palestinian Judaism" and "Alexandrian Judaism"; and under each head he passes in review the doctrine of God, of the Spirit, of the Messiah, and of such conceptions, whether treated as personifications or as "middle-beings", as each had developed under the names of Wisdom, the Word, the Shekina, Powers, the Logos. Of course he does not think that all of these periods or phases of "the Jewish

preparation" bear the same relation to the revelation of the Trinity: he draws with perfect clearness the line which separates the books of the Old Testament—in which, "if we cannot recognize the doctrine of the Trinity clearly and fully revealed, we may at least find, as in their sources, many doctrines which were later to enter into the Christian doctrine"—from later Jewish writings which can make no such claim; and, although the line which divides the Old Testament from Alexandrian Judaism is a little obscured by including in the Old Testament (as a good Romanist must) the Apocryphal books, yet M. Lebreton is under no illusions as to the syncretistic character of the characteristic notions of Alexandrian Judaism and gives us, in particular, an admirable and admirably balanced account of the theology of Philo. The conclusions reached in this account are solidly supported by a searching examination of the whole material. And they fully justify the strong words with which the discussion closes, in rebuke of the tendency characteristic of many historians, in their desire to make out a close correspondence between the speculations of Philo and the doctrines of Christianity, to "deform Philonism so as to render it more like the theology of St. John and that" (M. Lebreton adds, with not so complete justification) "of the Apologists." "Thus some", he continues, "have reduced the whole Philonic doctrine of the Logos to the conception of the *δεύτερος θεός*, forgetting or ignorant that this expression, which meets us only a single time in Philo, in a fragment cited by Eusebius, bears with him a far from natural sense, and very poorly represents the entirety of his theory. Others have gone further and in the face of all probability, have pretended to find in this doctrine of the Logos the source of St. Paul's and St. John's Christology or of the doctrine of redemption." After his own direct exposition of the Philonian doctrine, he considers we may call such contentions mere "exegetical fantasies."

M. Lebreton does not even make excessive claims for the Old Testament revelation as a source of the doctrine of the Trinity. In a somewhat cautiously written Appendix on "The Mystery of the Trinity and the Old Testament", he passes in review the Old Testament passages in which an intimation of the Trinity has sometimes been found, and reaches the conclusion that they "could not be sufficient revelations to the Jews" and that even we, who know of the Trinity, cannot see in them sure proofs of that mystery—though, he adds, this mystery suggests the best explanation of these texts. His general view of them therefore accords with the exposition given of the "Let us make" of Gen. i. 26 by Lagrange in these striking words. "Man was created in the image of God. The author insists too much on this fact for us to be able to suppose that the Creator took counsel with the angels; man was not created in the image of the angels. God spoke to Himself. If He uses the plural, that presupposes that there was in Him a plenitude of being such that He could deliberate with Himself as a plurality of persons deliberate together. The mystery of the Holy Trinity is not expressly indicated, but it gives the best explanation of

this turn of speech, which recurs again (Gen. iii. 22, xi. 7, Is. vi. 8)."

In speaking of the gradual revelation of the doctrine of the Trinity, M. Lebreton seems inclined to take his starting point from a passage in Gregory of Nazianzus which he formally quotes on one occasion and alludes to elsewhere. This passage (*Theological Oration on the Holy Spirit*, v. 26, PG, xxxv. 161) he renders as follows: "The Old Testament manifested the Father clearly, the Son obscurely. The New Testament revealed the Son and made the deity of the Spirit understood. To-day the Spirit lives among us and makes Himself more clearly known. For it would have been perilous, when the deity of the Father was not recognized, to preach the Son openly, and when the deity of the Son was not admitted, to add the burden, if I may venture so to speak, of the Holy Spirit: there would have been fear that believers, like men filled with too much food, or like those who fix eyes still weak on the sun, would lose even that which they were capable of enduring; it was necessary on the contrary that, by gradual additions and, as David says, by ascensions from glory to glory, the splendor of the Trinity should shine forth progressively." This interesting attempt to give a rational account of the progressive revelation of the Trinity has the fault of overstepping for the revelation the limits of the period of revelation, and looking to the operations of the Spirit in the Church as His "revelation". Surely the "revelation" of the Spirit in the New Testament is as complete as that of the Son Himself—though, naturally, neither then nor now has He been "manifested in the flesh". Perhaps M. Lebreton does not intend to follow Gregory in this point: he explains that he does not understand Gregory to mean that the divinity of the Holy Spirit is contained in the New Testament "only in an uncertain and doubtful fashion". But he adds that what he does understand Gregory to teach is that "the Person of the Holy Spirit does not manifest itself like that of the Son in full light" in the New Testament; and he seems inclined to follow him in this. And if we are not mistaken his expositions of the New Testament teaching concerning the Holy Spirit are to some extent affected by this preconception. Because the Holy Spirit reveals Himself in His works, not in an incarnation, he seems to suggest, the apprehension of His personality was of slow growth and it was only after a considerable time that it was understood (*cf.* pp. 211, 251, 287).

Apart from the somewhat minimizing interpretation of the New Testament doctrine of the Spirit resulting from this attitude towards it, we have found the detailed study of the Christology and Pneumatology of the New Testament which fills more than two hundred pages and constitutes the main contents of the volume, admirable in every respect. We speak of it advisedly, however, as a study of the Christology and Pneumatology of the New Testament: for, as we have already intimated, the volume lacks a sustained attempt to ascertain the New Testament doctrine of the Trinity itself—M. Lebreton preferring, so it seems, to present the New Testament testimony to

this doctrine rather in its elements than in its constructive unity. We regret this lack, which perhaps rests on the general underlying conception of the work that "the development of the doctrine of the Trinity" through the Biblical and Patristic ages may be treated as all of a piece, in which case it may not be unnatural to postpone a study of the doctrine itself, as distinguished from the elements which enter into it, to the discussion of the work of the Patristic age. Meanwhile we are grateful for the full, rich and illuminating expositions we are here given of the New Testament doctrines of the Son of God and of the Holy Spirit, written in full view of the wealth of recent discussions on these topics, and with close adherence to the texts expounded. M. Lebreton's method leads him to pass in review in turn the teaching of the Synoptic Gospels, the primitive church, as represented, for example, in Acts, Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Apocalypse and the Gospel of John. We have been instructed by every page, and rise from the reading of the whole discussion with a sense of large gains.

At the end of the volume there have been gathered into eleven appendices a series of studies of topics too important to the argument to be passed over with the cursory treatment which was alone possible in the course of the general discussion; and these appendices add largely to the value of the book. The topics treated in them are: "The Powers" in Greek speculation; "The Mystery of the Trinity and the Old Testament"; "Mk. xiii. 32: the Ignorance of the Day of Judgment"; "Mat. xi. 25-27; Lk. x. 21-22"; "Matt. xxviii. 19"; "2 Cor. iii. 17"; "The Doctrine of the Logos in Philo and the Doctrine of the Son in the Epistle to the Hebrews"; "On 'the Seven Spirits' which are before the throne of God"; "Jno. i. 3-4"; "1 Jno. vi. 7". The point of view of M. Lebreton as a Roman Catholic requires him to take account of "tradition" in discussing such exegetical points as no Protestant would feel bound to do: this fact has not deducted from the value of these discussions, in which M. Lebreton shows a very sound exegetical tact,—it has only added to them a valuable *précis* of Patristic opinion, which is full of instruction for us all.

We ought not to close without expressing the pleasure we have had in reading a volume so well provided with every device to give the reader comfort. The print is good, the notes are full, the references are exact; and we are given at the beginning of the volume not only a list of abbreviations used but a Bibliographical Index which enables us to verify the works cited, and at its end a series of complete Indices—of texts from the Bible, texts from Philo, authors cited, and subjects dealt with,—while a very full analytical table of contents crowns all. If all books were provided with so excellent a series of "aids to easy use," the lot of the student would be much alleviated and his work would not need to prove so much of a weariness to the flesh as it is now apt to be made.

Princeton.

B. B. WARFIELD.

AN INTRODUCTION TO PROTESTANT DOGMATICS. By DR. P. LOBSTEIN,

Professor of Theology in the University of Strassburg. Authorized Translation from the Original French Edition. By Arthur Maxson Smith, Ph.D. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1910. Pp. 275.

This is a reprint of Dr. Smith's translation of Lobstein's *Essai d'une Introduction à la Dogmatique Protestante*. This translation was privately printed in 1902 by the University of Chicago Press, and published by the translator. This reprint will give the book a wider circulation. Lobstein's *Introduction* was published in French in 1896. A German translation by Maas appeared in 1897. This latter, however, is more than a mere translation. It was revised by the author, and the footnotes were increased and extended by Prof. Lobstein, with a view to including much German literature on the subject, not cited in the French edition. Dr. Smith has omitted most of the footnotes on the ground that the literature cited would not be accessible to English readers. This omission detracts from the usefulness of the book, since these notes are not mere citations of books, but include statements of the theological positions of many of the authors cited, so that the footnotes are valuable helps for the student beginning the study of Systematic Theology.

Lobstein's *Introduction* has been before the theological public so long, and his theological position is so well known, that it is probably unnecessary to give any account of the contents of this volume. The author belongs, broadly speaking, to the Ritschlian school. The characteristic feature of this *Introduction* is the fact that many of the questions usually discussed under this head are excluded on the ground that they belong either to the Philosophy of Religion or the doctrinal system itself. Lobstein confines himself to an attempt to determine the nature of Christian dogma, and, in the light of this, to set forth the task, source, norm and method of Protestant dogmatics. He shows the influence of Sabatier more clearly than perhaps most of the theologians of the Ritschlian school.

Since the publication of this *Introduction* in 1896, Kirn's *Grundriss der evangelischen Dogmatik*, and the larger systematic treatises on Christian doctrine by Kaftan, Haering, and Wendt, have appeared, each of which follows in general, though with marked individual distinctions, the idea of the task and method of Dogmatic Theology here outlined by Lobstein.

Princeton.

C. W. HODGE.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE BIBLE. By FERDINAND S. SCHENCK, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Practical Theology in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in America at New Brunswick, N. J. 8vo; pp. 428. New York: The Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America. \$1.50 net.

Plainly it will not be the fault of scholars like Dr. Schenck if Christianity, as a world-force, comes to be widely regarded as "dim

with the mist of years." He believes that "The Book" speaks authoritatively with myriad voices to the men of our time as truly as it offered a divine, many-sided message to the world of twenty centuries ago. Moreover, he is keenly interested in the conditions and problems of to-day, and especially those of our own land. He is no mere scholastic. He keeps his eyes and ears open. He reads the newspapers. He recognizes the ills of present-day society, its spirit of unrest and many of its major tendencies; and he believes that now, as ever heretofore, the Bible holds the key for the solution of every social problem.

So much, we think, may be inferred from the book before us; and the spirit of the author thus outlined commands our sincere admiration. We rejoice that there are so many present exponents of Christianity, of whom the author is an example, who teach that it is a religion to live by as well as to die by, and that it regards human society as well as the individuals as the object of redemption. There is, we think, much of promise for the sanity and power of the Church of the future in the increasing emphasis that is being laid by Christian thinkers and teachers upon the "Social Aspects of Christianity."

Dr. Schenck's book is an attempt to present the sociological teachings of the entire Bible. The plan has been suggested to him by the principle of a Biblical Theology. If there is a Biblical Theology, why not a Biblical Sociology? Accordingly, the author breaks into what he regards as new ground. He says, "This is the first book, so far as I know, upon Biblical Sociology." With his scheme no fault can be found, though we are inclined to question his analysis in differentiating the sociology of the Bible from its theology (p. 55): for, strictly speaking, theology as the *science of sciences* involves such teachings of the Bible as pertain to sociology,—they are not sister sciences, but the latter is the child of the former; but letting that pass, we are bound to put a large question mark over against his *method* of treating the Biblical elements that are related to his theme. He gives us the impression of regarding the customs, laws and polity of the Old Testament as of well-nigh equal value with the teachings of the New Testament in indicating the mind of God concerning the ultimate or ideal human society; or, perhaps, we should say, rather, that he seems to regard the social orders of the Bible ages more as a horizontal plane than as an evolutionary ascent from Genesis to Revelation.

In our judgment, therefore, he overemphasizes the importance of Old Testament laws and usages in the effort to determine the mind of God concerning the human framework of the kingdom of God in its finality. In fact, we do not believe that the Christian is to go to the Old Testament to learn sociology any more than to learn Church government or the functions of the Christian ministry. Indeed, to be precise, there is no sociology of the Bible. There are Biblical *sociologies* perhaps—patriarchal, Mosaic, monarchical, Christian—one scheme succeeding another; but there is no detailed program for the final constitution of human society presented in the Bible more than there

is an explicit outline of the final and ideal Church government. And if the occasional experiments of first-century Christians with communism, let us say, are not to be taken seriously by twentieth century Christians, still less are we to go back to Moses or Abraham to determine the social goal toward which we should strive. There is danger of our missing the mark in Old Testament study at this point. *The one central aim of the Old Testament is to present the historical unfolding of Redemption until the appearing of the Christ.* But the peculiar constitution of Hebrew society prior to Christ was clearly designed to be provisional, like the Levitical rites of worship, and like the theocracy itself. This is made perfectly clear by the attitude of Jesus toward the Old Covenant. For instance, He modified the Mosaic law of divorce; He treated the Mosaic laws of criminal punishment as defective; He abrogated the time-honored rites of the Levitical plan of worship; and He denied that His kingdom was to be outwardly modelled after the old theocracy. Thus we are to go to the New Testament rather than to the Old to learn the principles that should determine our social duties in this Christian dispensation. The Old offers its lessons as side lights, but the New is better.

The Chosen People dwelt in a small territory, they were for special reasons forbidden to have large dealings with neighboring peoples, and their interests were agricultural rather than commercial. As Edersheim says, "The whole occupation of the nation, that for which it was best fitted, and in which it took most delight, was agriculture; the cultivation of the rich and fertile land, as well as the tending and pasturing of flocks and herds." So primitive were trade and commerce among them that it was possible for them to live under a law forbidding interest on loans. Now to employ the laws that governed a society so situated and so employed as standards to measure the ethics of the Reading Railroad, or the moral quality of the Standard Oil Company, is to be projected into difficulties that the law of Christ does not impose. It is safe to say that if Abraham were living in Pittsburg to-day, he would not offend his God if he acted under a different set of laws and commercial usages than those with which he was familiar amid the hills of Canaan. Perhaps, by the way, his marital history, to look no further, would be an improvement over that of the patriarch as we know him. And so we venture to give expression to our fear lest methods like our author's in this department shall unintentionally lead young men who are entering the ministry into trouble by inducing them to assume teaching obligations that are too heavy to be borne. The minister who undertakes to teach men in detail how to conduct business, or how to make, interpret and enforce laws, will soon find that he has a contract that is too big for him. Moreover, it may finally appear that he is more remote from the spirit and method of Christ than he at first sight seems. Only the other day the report came to us that a brilliant young friend had so far lost his head through his sociological studies as to leave his pulpit to pursue what he possibly styles "Christian Socialism;" and we are confident

that St. Paul would be a better model for him than Henry George. And if we are not mistaken, there are a goodly number of the younger preachers in various connections who might become effective preachers of the Cross of Christ but who are in the way of becoming weak apostles of Socialism instead. Our American churches are, doubtless, about to be afflicted with the Socialistic fever; but the average preacher, at least, will possibly have reason to believe, when he renders his final account, that he has been true to his marching orders if he shall have left to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and held firmly to the central duty of preaching Christ crucified—the power of God unto salvation. Preachers may congratulate themselves that they have not been appointed to be train-despatchers on *all* the moral lines of the Universe.

We do not mean by this that Dr. Schenck's book is not on the whole to be commended as a contribution to theological scholarship, nor do we wish to go on record too positively in raising the question as to the possible unhappy effects of the increasing emphasis that is being given in our schemes of theological study to the department of Christian Sociology. There is a good deal of wholesome meat in the work; though possibly some of it is rather too strong a diet for theological babes. We are glad to have read it, and we shall probably often turn to it as a book of reference in relation to many of the live topics of the times.

Cranford, N. J.

GEORGE FRANCIS GREENE.

THE CODE OF THE SPIRIT. An Interpretation of the Decalogue. By WILFORD L. HOOPES, a Priest of the Episcopal Church. 8vo; pp. 154. Boston: Sherman, French & Company. 1911. Price, \$1.20 net.

The peculiarity of this interpretation of the Decalogue is that it finds its principle, never in the divine nature, but always and only in the constitution of man. That is, the Ten Commandments, even the First, are all of them, what they are because, and only because, we are what we are. Thus by nature man is a thinker, an admirer, a creator, though not in the absolute sense, a receiver, an honorer of those of whom he is a beneficiary, a saviour of life, a sanctifier of his experiences, a proprietor, a reporter of truth, a trader, and, as the sum and substance of all, a lover; and, therefore, the law is that he should be each one and all of these. In a word, the will of God as expressed in the constitution of humanity is ultimate. There are not some commandments, as, for example, the First, the Second, the Third, and the Ninth, which are what they are because God himself is what He is, which, therefore, even He could not cause to be other than they are, and in which, consequently, we have the foundation for a morality that is valid not merely for the present constitution of things, but is eternal and immutable as God Himself.

A further objection to our author's principle, or at least to the use which he makes of it, is that it leads him to give to some of the

commandments a meaning which is not in them. Thus he paraphrases the Third Commandment, "Thou shalt take the name of the Lord thy God, and be as God is a creator." "But not in vain, not ineffectually, not so that the result will be emptiness and worthlessness. On the contrary, thou shalt take the name of God as God takes it; thou shalt create virtue." Instead, therefore, of requiring reverence for God and His works, this law, according to Mr. Hoopes, enjoins wise and effective activity.

In spite, however, of these and other misconceptions and some undue refinements of thought and frequent artificiality of style, the Code of the Spirit is often suggestive and even instructive; and though few will agree with it throughout, all should find it well worth reading.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

A DAY FOR REST AND WORSHIP. Its Origin, Development and Present Day Meaning. By WILLIAM B. DANA. 8vo, pp. 265. New York, Chicago, Toronto, London. Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1911.

"The author of this volume, a distinguished graduate of Yale University, and brother of the renowned American Geologist, James D. Dana, was for forty-five years the editor and proprietor of the Financial and Commercial Chronicle." The significance of the work, therefore, is that it gives what we may call a Christian business man's view of the Sabbath. And it is a very high view. We can not agree with the writer that the word "'Remember' at the opening of the Fourth Commandment, especially when contrasted with the beginning of the others, is suggestive of entreaty rather than of command:" but we do follow him in all his argument to prove that the Sabbath was necessary for rest and worship from the creation of man, and that the week, so far from being only a natural division of time, was God's device and had for its purpose to establish and preserve a day for rest and worship; and we are particularly edified and confirmed, both by Mr. Dana's presentation of the peculiar need of the Sabbath to-day growing out of the unprecedented strain of modern business, and by his broad and sympathetic and thoroughly Scriptural discussion of the way in which the Lord's Day should be kept holy.

We regret that this excellent and needed treatise could not have been revised by its author. It would then have been free from the blemishes of style and mistakes in proof reading that now mar it.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

THE HOME OF THE SOUL. By CHARLES WAGNER, Author of *The Simple Life, etc.* Translated from the French by Laura Sanford Hoffmann.

With an Introduction by Lyman Abbott, D.D., LL.D. New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Company. 1909. 12mo, pp. xv. 349. \$1.20 net.

This collection of fifteen sermons by Pastor Wagner is named, as the visitor to Paris will surmise, after the author's celebrated institutional church in the Faubourg St. Antoine. "The Home of the Soul", we are informed, numbers between 3000 and 4000 adherents in all parts of the city, including Roman Catholics, Jews and Freethinkers. That such diverse elements should be attracted and held by any preacher of the Gospel is a noteworthy tribute to his message. Nor have we far to read in these sermons to discover some of the secrets of their fascination and power. The simple, lucid, incisive, often brilliant style, the unconventional mode of sermon-building, the abundance of vivid and striking illustrations, the picturesque diction, the noble earnestness and candor, the breadth and intensity of the minister's sympathy for his fellowmen, the glow of his religious feelings, the appeal to the heroic elements of man's nature, the inspiring optimism that constantly interprets life in the light of its wealthiest possibilities in the attainments of character and service—these are the most obvious merits of these discourses. No doubt, too, the very vagueness of many of the forms of expression, permitting now a more and now a less pronounced evangelicalism, helps to captivate many a hearer who is dissatisfied with some of the traditional conceptions of the meaning of the Gospel. The Introduction truly says: "He does not intellectualize religion. He expresses it in terms of experience, not in terms of philosophy. He does not discuss the Trinity; what interests him is the manifestation of God to men. He does not discuss the atonement; what interests him is the harmonization of men with God and therefore with each other. He does not discuss regeneration; what interests him is the new life consecrated to God in His children." But these antitheses hardly state the whole truth. For, on the one hand, the preacher cannot altogether get along without a metaphysical theory of his own manufacture; as, for instance, in this characterization of Christ: "Christ is not a private individual. He is for us, the spirit which embodies the total sum of moral light of which humanity is capable . . . He is not a propagator of a definite doctrine, of a system forming men exactly to its pattern. Christ is all that is normal and all that is best in humanity, human and divine . . . The spirit of Christ is therefore the essence of that which we find everywhere, in the East and in the West, in ancient and modern times, the best, the most supremely human, the most grandly generous, the most evident in the suffusion of good, bounty, and the gift of self" (p. 6). On the other hand, there is a gulf fixed between the ethical and the religious elements in this presentation of the Gospel that even the most expansive of these mystically indefinite phrases will not enable us to cross. Whence can come the motive force that will help a poor sinner to realize the lofty idealism of this matchless example? "To love others, to grow in gentleness and

strength, to despise our fellows less, to have less fear of those great in a worldly sense and less disdain for those of humble appearance—this is the task of brotherhood, kindness, and faith.” And how is “the task” to be accomplished? The answer is characteristic in its juxtaposition of the divine name and the light of the stars, with an utter absence of any reference to Christ: “You, who read this message, if you be weary, may God give you strength. If your thoughts are jangling and discordant, may peace and tranquility enter into your hearts. If you are afraid, may you be soothed and calmed by the sovereign benignity shining from the stars, the sweet divine peace, the pure glitter of which, on the clearest nights, is only a distant promise.” No doubt it is a cause for thanksgiving that in a city like Paris thousands of Romanists, Jews, and Freethinkers, as well as others, should be so earnestly and strongly interested to find the true “Home of the Soul.” At the same time we cannot but wish that the seekers might more frequently be persuaded to leave the mere vestibule of revealed truth and draw nearer to the altar of atonement where the Divine Savior offers the sacrifice for sin that alone can kindle and keep burning the sacred flame of our own love to God and to our fellowmen.

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

LIGHT IN DARK PLACES, OR LECTURES ON THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS. By Rev. NATHAN BACHMAN, D.D., the Evangelist. Richmond, Va.: Whitlet & Shepperson. 1910. 12mo, pp. 150.

Of the twelve sermons here gathered together in book form all but the last, which is suggested by Ps. xvi. 8, are based on passages in the Epistle to the Philippians. The title is chosen to hint at the encouragement and comfort that the author desires to convey to his readers from a New Testament book that a summer's special study has endeared to him. The sermons are simple, well-planned, persuasive spiritual discourses, full of the good cheer of their inspired source.

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

WRITING ON THE CLOUDS. By ARTHUR NEWMAN. Boston: Sherman, French and Company. 1910. 12mo, pp. 91. Price, 90 cents net.

“We ourselves listen”, says the author, “when one sincerely and out of a full heart tries to tell, though with stammering speech, what great things he has found to help in God’s word, and in the Gospel of Jesus Christ our Lord.” But the title of the book as of many of the thirteen brief “meditations”, and much of the subject matter itself, suggest that after all the chief source of “help” here utilized was not the Bible. It becomes somewhat difficult to lay hold of the aim of these discourses or to determine the rhetorical species to which they belong. But if the

reader will pursue these pages without troubling himself too much about establishing the connections between contiguous paragraphs he will have his reward in finding many a nugget of practical wisdom by the wayside and in gazing upon many a scene of poetic beauty, to say nothing of his enjoyment of the many fair and fragrant blossoms of speech that have been plucked for him from many fields of literature.

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

THE SECRET OF THE LORD. By the Rev W. M. CLOW, B.D., Glasgow, Author of *The Cross in Christian Experience*, *The Day of the Cross*. New York and London: Hodder and Houghton. 12mo, pp. vi. 353. \$1.50 net.

Readers of *The Cross in Christian Experience* and *The Day of the Cross* will eagerly welcome this new volume of sermons by the celebrated Glasgow preacher. Nor will they be in the least disappointed. For like its predecessors this book is a noble sanctuary of evangelical truth in which strength and beauty are united in a most impressive and charming manner. Indeed, among recent publications of sermons we know of none more interesting, more instructive, or more profitable for the cultivation of the spiritual life.

This "series of addresses" deals with "the sayings and doings of Jesus during the days of a religious retreat held in the neighborhood of Caesarea Philippi." "The purpose of these studies is to set the events of this quiet season and its solemn words in relation to the purpose of Christ's life and death, and to expound their teaching for faith and righteousness. The title of the book has been chosen not for the music of its sound, but for the fitness of its meaning. To His chosen disciples, in those days of seclusion, at the summit level of His ministry, Jesus disclosed 'The Secret of the Lord.'" The passages studied are Matt. xvi. 1, xvii. 21; Mark viii. 27, ix. 29; Luke ix. 18-51, and the sermons, twenty-six in number, are grouped together under the following headings: The Ruling Law (The Men of the Secret); The Disclosure of the Person and His Purpose; The Disclosure of the Cross and its Issues; The Disclosure of the Glory and Its Significances; The Face toward Jerusalem; and The Consummation of the Secret (Hos. vi. 3 and I Cor. xiii. 12).

We heartily join with the author in expressing the hope "that those who read will also be led to spend some quiet days with Christ, to see His glory, to feel their need of the word of His grace, and in a renewing dedication of life and service, to confess Him Lord"; and we cannot but state our conviction that the sympathetic study of these discussions will do much to make this hope a blessed reality.

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

THE TRANSFIGURED CHURCH. By J. H. JOWETT, D.D. Fleming H. Revell Company. 1910. 12mo, pp. 252. \$1.25 net.

This volume of sermons by the distinguished Dr. Jowett, now the pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church of New York, has already received such wide notice in our religious periodicals and such high commendations in ministerial circles, that by the time this number of the REVIEW makes its appearance, most of our readers who are interested in this sort of literature will no doubt have made their acquaintance with this book at first hand. We simply make this formal acknowledgment of the receipt of the volume and express our high appreciation of these remarkable sermons and our hope that the author will be abundantly blessed in delivering such messages from his new pulpit and in publishing them for his many parishioners on both sides of the ocean.

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

JESUS, THE WORKER. Studies in the Ethical Leadership of the Son of God. By CHARLES MCTYNNIRE BISHOP, D.D. The Cole Lectures for 1909. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. \$1.25 net.

The Cole lectures have been delivered before Vanderbilt University since 1903. This book contains the substance of the lectures for 1909.

In his preface, the author, who is a pastor in active service, speaks of two great "impressions which have the force of final conviction in his mind:"

1. If men are to know Christ at all as an effective Redeemer and Saviour, they must know Him in the *Man, Jesus of the New Testament*.

2. Jesus, Himself, must be known in His *complete manhood*.

Jesus can be known in his superior power to give Himself to others "only through *His works*—that is through His conduct in general and the way in which, as a typical man, He viewed the responsibilities of His own life and undertook to discharge them. . . . In these aspects of His life we want to study Him."

Dr. Bishop does not try to discuss Jesus as a supernatural risen Saviour, but concentrates his attention on the active life of our Lord and uses the Synoptics as his chief sources of material. There are six chapters corresponding to the original lectures. We study "Jesus The Man," "The Acts of Jesus," "The Attitude of Jesus Toward the Universe," "The Constructive Purpose of Jesus," "The Ethics of Jesus," and "Jesus The Preacher."

While critical questions occasionally appear, they are necessarily made exceedingly subordinate. Dr. Bishop's method is a rapid survey of the field covered with a very continuous use of the Gospels, and especially of Luke. The book is so clearly and interestingly written that it is only too easy to read. There is such a mass of material considered, the questions discussed are so tremendous, that the reader regrets that the attempt was made to place in one short volume an adequate treatment of so many themes.

All the lectures are illuminating, but none are wholly satisfying. Thought is stimulated, but before any subject is deeply considered it has to be dropped. While the discussion is in the main correct and

the Scriptures quoted convincing, the general effect is too often one of superficiality, and is therefore transitory.

The attempt to separate the man Jesus from the divine Saviour who continually concentrated man's trust on *Himself* can never do Christianity any service. Dr. Bishop displays only a tendency in this direction, but he fails to note the emphasis placed by the Gospels on Jesus's *death* and *resurrection* as the greatest of His works, ones without which all others would have proved futile.

Cranford, N. J.

GORDON M. RUSSELL.

GENERAL LITERATURE

CHARMS OF THE BIBLE. A Fresh Appraisement. By JESSE BOWMAN YOUNG, D.D., LITT.D. 12mo, pp. 255. New York: Eaton and Mains. 1910.

The aims of this volume, says the author, are "to call forth in fresh array the beauties of the Scripture; to illustrate by pertinent citations, and in systematic orders, those features of the Book which invest it with perennial attractiveness; and to indicate anew the main reasons which underlie its supremacy in the world." The seventeen chapters into which the discussion is divided are not of co-ordinate importance in the development of the theme, and the spiritual charms of the Word, though given the place of honor as the climax of the argument, are not set forth with the comprehensiveness and cogency with which some of the other aspects of the subject are treated. But taken as a whole the book admirably succeeds in impressing upon the reader the unique and commanding attractiveness of the Bible for all ages. After an introductory chapter on the world-wide appeal which the Scriptures make, the following considerations are presented as their chief "charms;" their structural peculiarities and the wide diversity of materials embraced under a single dominating purpose; their literary traits (the sublimity of certain passages, the yearning, human tenderness of others, the quality of pathos, "the searching and awakening force and penetrating power revealed in the questioning methods of the Bible," the picturesque simplicity of style, and the symbolism of the biblical writers); their poetry; their biographical attractions; their grip on the conscience; their promises; their pictures of home life; their ideals of God and man; their appeal to the intellect; their "credentials"—a combination of the old and the more modern apologetic; their portrayal of the Supreme Teacher; their "great portrait" of the divine and perfect character of Christ; and their spirit of hope.

The book is written with much charm of style, and some portions, notably the chapter on Christ as the supreme teacher, are marked by a fine critical acumen and vital freshness in the mode of treatment. The pages are interspersed with appropriate verses—for which a separate

index is made—dealing with the various “charms” of the Bible.

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

HOW TO DEVELOP SELF-CONFIDENCE IN SPEECH AND MANNER. By GRENVILLE KLEISER, Formerly Instructor in Public Speaking at Yale Divinity School, Yale University; Author of *How to Speak in Public*, *Humorous Hits* and *How to Hold an Audience*, *How to Develop Power and Personality in Speaking*, *How to Argue and Win*, etc. New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Company. 1910. 12mo; pp. vii, 288. \$1.25 net.

HOW TO ARGUE AND WIN. By GRENVILLE KLEISER. New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Company. 1910. 12mo; pp. 310. \$1.25 net.

We have read these books with much pleasure and profit. They are worthy additions to Mr. Kleiser's well-known treatises on the subject of public speaking. Based upon sound psychological principles, his counsels are full of good sense and practical worth.

The former of the two volumes is designed to give special help to those “who daily defraud themselves because of doubt, fearthought, and foolish timidity.” Attention is directed, among other things, to the importance and the proper methods of building up the will-power; curing self-consciousness in speaking; developing the capacity of right thinking; cultivating the best “sources of inspiration” in literature and life, first and foremost those in the Bible; mastering the art of concentration; securing an adequate physical basis for a forceful personality; finding oneself and strengthening one's individuality; forming the habit of expressing oneself in an energetic manner; overcoming discouragements; making the best of one's voice; and living a life of faith. Throughout the book the importance of a sober estimate of one's talents and opportunities is emphasized, and many suggestions are given for the cultivation of specific elements of strength of character. Scores of memory passages are cited to make the candidate in this arduous school of discipline come to a hopeful conclusion as to the possibility of acquiring self confidence in his speech and manner.

The second treatise gives in popular form the basal laws of argumentation, but the main stress is laid upon the more thorough development of the personality of the debater. Separate chapters deal with the subject of persuasive argument from the point of view of the lawyer, the business man, the preacher, the salesman, the public speaker. The Appendix, consisting of some sixty pages, contains a “Note for a Law Lecture,” by Abraham Lincoln; “Of Truth,” by Francis Bacon; “Of Practise and Habits,” by John Locke; and “Improving the Memory,” by Isaac Watts.

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FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

WHAT HAVE THE GREEKS DONE FOR MODERN CIVILISATION? The Lowell Lectures of 1908-1909. By JOHN PENTLAND MAHAFFY, C.V.O.,

D.C.L. (Oxon.), etc., of Trinity College, Dublin. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. The Knickerbocker Press. 1909.

In an age when democracy is in the saddle, when college and semi-nary curricula are in a state of flux, when "occupational courses" hold the field in education, when efficiency in teaching is measured by the "cost per student hour" method, when the occupation of the teacher of Greek is almost gone, and the university professor of distinction is thankful when one or two adventurous spirits elect his course in "beginning Greek," it is refreshing to read a defense of Greek studies by so able an advocate as Professor Mahaffy. In his Lowell Lectures Dr. Mahaffy feels that he brings a message to his age, and to the educational world of America, and his thesis, frankly stated and forcibly defended before his audience in the Athens of America, is that the giving up of Greek as an instrument of education will mean a serious intellectual loss—a return in fact to the Dark Ages, only to be dispelled again by a renaissance of classical study. He warns the ardent advocate of Latin (to the exclusion of Greek) that Latin will be poorly taught by those who have not studied the Greek models of Latin literature, and is fearful lest in time Latin, too, may be "thrown to the wolves."

The powerful and pervasive influence of Greece upon modern civilization is traced in the fields of poetry, prose, architecture and sculpture, painting and music, science, politics, philosophy and theology. The author shows himself to be a humanist in the best sense with wide acquaintance with modern as well as ancient literature, and his discussion is lightened by interesting comments upon modern writers and shrewd observations upon men and affairs. Some *obiter dicta* may be quoted. "The huge amount of time spent by Americans in travelling is perhaps one of the most serious obstacles to their intellectual advancement." "You have heard much talk about the *Superman*, whose main attribute seems to me *infra* human, when the rights of others are concerned." The effect of Gladstone's eloquence is said to have been produced by embarking his audience with him upon the billows of great periods, and exciting wonder as to how they would ever come safely to land.

As an exponent and defender of Hellenic culture Dr. Mahaffy is the "noblest Roman of them all" (if the expression is allowable), and he looks back with some complacency upon a life spent in devotion to his favorite study. "There are probably few men who have lived longer and more intimately with the old Greeks, in more phases of their life, ever probing and seeking for better knowledge of their vast legacy to mankind, of which the rodent tooth of time, the sacrilegious hands of men, have lost or destroyed so much. The farther I seek, the wider the vistas I see opening before me. So now, when my part in the race is nearly run, there remains to me no higher earthly satisfaction than this, that I have carried the torch of Greek fire alight through a long life—no higher earthly hope than this, that

I may pass that torch to others, who in their turn may keep it aflame with greater brilliancy perhaps, but not with more earnest devotion, 'in the Parliament of men, the Federation of the world.'"

Lincoln University, Pa.

WM. HALLOCK JOHNSON.

THE EVOLUTION OF LITERATURE. By A. S. MACKENZIE. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co.

As stated in the Preface, "the object of this treatise is to try to account for the origin and successive changes of literature as a social phenomenon" giving a "presentation of what is usually termed Comparative Literature." Confronted by such a world-wide scheme, the author makes no attempt "to write a complete account of literary evolution," but wisely limits his area, aims to be "suggestive" rather than exhaustive, and freely acknowledges that there is a spacious domain of unsolved and, indeed, insoluble problems. The introductory chapter, entitled "The Problem," includes the subject of literary criticism, the purpose of the book, as scientific and objective, the difficulties and complications of such a study as literature, the explanation of the term, evolution, and the specific method of study, as historical and comparative. The author then takes up the subject of the "Primitive Literature" of the world, expressed in drama, lyric and epic, as contrasted with "Barbaric Literature," as, also, expressed in drama, lyric and epic, and goes on to a comprehensive survey of what he calls Autocratic Literature, as expressed in prose and verse, and Democratic Literature in the ancient, mediaeval and modern world.

In the concluding chapter under the caption, Provisional Laws, he states these three laws, as those of Progress, Initiative and Responsiveness, and somewhat strangely closes the volume with a definition of literature as "the linguistic expression of aesthetic ideals."

Here is a scheme of literary study, therefore, almost encyclopedic in its scope and, as such, naturally involving the merits and defects incident to so elaborate a plan. It is a work, however, which despite all conceded defects, belongs to that class of books that make a distinct contribution to the subject they discuss, stimulate thinking and rational inquiry, and serve to place discussion on the highest intellectual plane. Contending that the science of literature is still rudimentary, that its primitive eras are especially difficult to interpret, that a part of its study consists in the removal of misconceptions, that, first and last, literary evolution is based on social evolution, that the evolution itself has been, in the main, for the better, and that "vitality is the quality that gives permanent value to all true art," the author has succeeded in keeping within the bounds of historical accuracy and the well established principles of literary criticism.

The view given us of primitive literatures in their relation to later and contemporary types is especially valuable, while the survey, as a whole, may be safely recommended to all those who are interested

in the examination of literature as a world product and vitally related to the questions of race, nationality and the successive stages of progress from the crudest myths and songs of the earliest eras to the most highly elaborated forms of modern verse and prose.

Princeton.

T. W. HUNT.

WORLD LITERATURE. By R. G. MOULTON: The Macmillan Co., New York.

Professor Moulton is widely and favorably known, both as an educator and author, most especially by his contributions to Shakespearian and biblical study. The object of the present volume, as he states in the Preface, is to present "a conception of World Literature, as a unity . . . seen in perspective from the point of view of the English-speaking peoples." In the Introduction he indicates three important topics:

The Unity of Literature and the Conception of World Literature.
The Literary Pedigree of the English-speaking Peoples, and
World Literature from the English Point of View.

In the first of these, the distinction is drawn between World Literature, on the one hand, and Universal Literature, on the other. In the second, he presents the salient topics of Hebraism, Hellenism, Mediaevalism and Romance; while, in the third, he insists in studying all literature from the English as a basis. The comprehensive subject is then fully outlined and developed under ten distinct divisions.

- I The Five Literary Bibles—The Holy Bible, in which he asserts that "biblical study is essential for a sound literary education."
- II The Five Literary Bibles—Classical Epic and Tragedy, as illustrated in Homer, Aeschylus and Virgil.
- III The Five Literary Bibles—Shakespeare, wherein he reveals the universality of Shakespeare's genius.
- IV The Five Literary Bibles—Dante and Milton, exponents, respectively, of Mediaeval Catholicism and Renaissance Protestantism.
- V The Five Literary Bibles—Versions of the Story of Faust.
- VI Collateral Studies in World Literature, as seen in Arabic, Persian, Celtic, Norse, and Flemish.
- VII Comparative Reading, illustrated in The Alcestis Group, reproduced in Alfieri, Morris and Longfellow; in The Bacchanals Group, as seen in Ecclesiasticus, the Rubaiyat, The Faerie Queene and Tennyson's Vision of Sin.
- VIII Literary Organs of Personality, as expressed in the Essays of Bacon, Cicero, Epictetus, Pascal, Montaigne, Addison and others, and in Lyrics, as in the Psalms, The Odes of Horace, and the Sonnets of Dante, Petrarch, Shakespeare and others.
- IX Strategic Points in Literature, as Plato, Lucretius, Aristophanes, Malory, Chaucer, Spencer, Froissart, Don Quixote, Moliere, Scott, Balzac, Victor Hugo, Byron, Wordsworth, and others.

X World Literature, as The Autobiography of Civilization, in which civilization is presented in its best products.

The author closes the volume by noting The Place of World Literature in Education, in which he argues, that the study of classics should be literary more than linguistic; that through translations into English the literature of all nations is at our hand; that the study of the Bible as literature is essential; that in literary study the cultural should dominate the vocational; and that the modern movement in the line of University Extension emphasizes the diffusion of culture among non-university classes and thus contributes to the general good.

From such an outline it is clear that Doctor Moulton has traversed a very extensive area of literary study, and given his readers many interesting suggestions as to what may be called, the inter-relations of literary life and product as expressed among different peoples. Some of the primary objects of the volume are to prove that literature should be lifted above the merely "departmental stage" and made equal in rank with history, philosophy and language; to exhibit in true perspective the importance of the Hebraic and Hellenic elements in modern letters; to emphasize the central place that Shakespeare holds in the English and general literary world; to illustrate through Dante and Milton and Goethe the elements of Romish Mediaevalism, English Puritanism and the irrepressible conflict between the world and the soul; to exhibit those literatures that are collateral to the English; to illustrate the comparative principle in letters through comparative reading of great authors, such as Euripides and Browning; to reveal the principle of personality in literature, especially through essays and lyrics; to place the reader at the most commanding points of view from which to study literary product; to reveal the relation of literary and general civic progress, and finally, to present world-literature as an essentially educating study.

The discussion is conducted on a high intellectual plane and so dispassionately and fairly that even when we differ from the author as to any particular theory or statement, we respect his opinions as candid and are disposed to give him every legitimate concession. It is, in a word, a suggestive and thought-provoking volume, and may be profitably studied in connection with a recent book on "The Evolution of Literature", which we have already reviewed in these columns.

It is such books as these that will do much to redeem the study of literature from any suggestion of the superficial and merely aesthetic.

Princeton, N. J.

T. W. HUNT.

THE GIRL IN HER TEENS. By MARGARET SLATTERY. Philadelphia: Sunday School Times Company. 1910. Pp. 128. Price, 50 cents.

This is a book for teachers by a teacher. It considers the average girl at the age when so many teachers find her a difficult problem. The whole field of her life, physical, mental, social, spiritual, is treated.

One of the best chapters is that discussing the matter of the girl's amusements. A good many of us who have to deal with the play side of life can sympathize with her perplexity when she writes, "My observations of the social side of the girl in her teens, and especially the girl who has left school, has made me feel that if the opportunity came to me as to Solomon, I would rather have the knowledge and power to give the young people of to-day sane, safe amusement than anything else I know."

In common with the teacher generally the author seems to regard enlightenment and training as the road to a stable, perfect womanhood. That is, development accounts for all we have and will furnish us with all we can have. In the chapter on the spiritual side, much stress is laid on the power of a teacher who has faith, but it is not clear just what the object of that faith must be. It is lack of a frank avowal of the need and power of a vital, personal, immediate religious experience which is the chief fault of the book.

Princeton.

W. B. SHEDDAN.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

American Journal of Theology, Chicago, April: F. CRAWFORD BURKITT, Historical Character of the Gospel of Mark; CLARENCE A. BECKWITH, Influence of Psychology upon Theology; SHIRLEY J. CASE, Is Jesus a Historical Character: Evidence for an Affirmative Opinion; JOHN E. RUSSELL, The Crisis in Doctrinal Christianity; EDOUARD MONTET, Thoughts on the Idea of a First Cause; GREGORY D. WALCOTT, Logical Aspect of Religious Unity; WILLIAM B. SMITH, The Pre-Christian Jesus; SHIRLEY J. CASE, Jesus' Historicity: A Statement of the Problem; EDGAR J. GOODSPEED, The Toronto Gospels.

Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, April: HENRY A. STIMSON, Congregational Reconstruction; EDWARD M. MERRINS, Heredity and Social Progress; JAMES LINDSAY, Philosophy of Art; FRANK FOX, What Does the New Testament Teach about Healing?; HAROLD M. WIENER, Scientific Study of the Old Testament; THEODORE W. HUNT, Spenser and the Later Sonnet-Writers; J. J. LIAS, Theology of Fourth Gospel a Guarantee of its Genuineness; GEORGE STIBITZ, Message of the Book of Amos.

Church Quarterly Review, London, April: The Government of England; JOHN VAUGHAN, Some Prison Literature; W. C. BISHOP, The Mozarabic Breviary; The Mond Collection; A. E. BURN, Cardinal Pole; The Revolt of the Curés, 1789; Community Life in the Church of England; H. C. BEECHING, The Story of the English Bible.

East & West, London, April: F. J. WESTERN, Religious Training in Indian missionary schools; F. J. GOULD, Moral Education in India; R. J. HUNT, Aborigines of South America from a missionary and commercial standpoint; W. BALL WRIGHT, Commemoration of the

heathen dead; A. E. JOHNSTON, The missionary message; HUBERT KELLY, Missionary Volunteering; N. MACNICOL, Two cults of popular Hinduism; HERBERT BAYNES, Hindu Conception of sin; E. GREAVES, Is Hinduism pantheistic?

The Expositor, London, April: G. BUCHANAN GRAY, The Virgin Birth in the Interpretation of Isaiah; ED KÖNIG, A Modern Expert's Judgment on the Old Testament Historical Writings; B. W. BACON, Songs of the Lord's Beloved; ALEX. SOUTER, Did St. Paul Speak Latin?; A. E. GARVIE, Did Paul Borrow His Gospel?; W. M. RAMSAY, Historical Commentary on the Epistles to Timothy; H. T. F. DUCKWORTH, Notes on Dr. Lepsius' Interpretation of the Symbolic Language of the Apocalypse; J. H. MOULTON and GEORGE MILLIGAN, Lexical Notes from the Papyri.

Expository Times, Edinburgh, May: Notes of Recent Exposition; S. R. DRIVER, Authorized Version of the Bible; JAMES HENDRY, In the Study; WILLOUGHBY C. ALLEN, Harnack and Moffatt on the Date of the First Gospel; ARTHUR WRIGHT, Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem; P. S. P. HANDCOCK, Identification of an Unnamed Old Testament King.

Harvard Theological Review, Cambridge, April: WILLIAM F. BADÈ, Italian Modernism, Social and Religious; PERCY ASHLEY, University Settlements in Great Britain; BENJAMIN W. BACON, Jesus as Lord; GEORGE P. ADAMS, Beyond Moral Idealism; CLARENCE A. BECKWITH, Types of Authority in Christian Belief; CHARLES A. ALLEN, Reverence as the Heart of Christianity.

Hibbert Journal, Boston and London, April: LEO TOLSTOY, Philosophy and Religion; M. M. PATTISON MUIR, Can Theology Become Scientific?; PERCY GARDNER, The Sub-Conscious and the Super-Conscious; G. A. JOHNSTON ROSS, The Cross: The Report of a Misgiving; LEWIS R. FARNELL, Moral Service of the Intellect; W. B. SMITH, Judas Iscariot; J. W. JENKINSON, Vitalism; CHARLES T. OVENDEN, Water-Finding and Faith-Healing; NEVILLE S. TALBOTT, A Study of the Resurrection; W. F. COBB, The Problem of the Church of England; PHILLIP OYLER, Essentials of Education; E. W. LEWIS, Beyond Morality; E. M. ROWELL, Personality.

International Journal of Ethics, Philadelphia, April: J. S. MACKENZIE, Meaning of Good and Evil; F. MELIAN STAWELL, Goethe's Influence on Carlyle; RALPH BARTON PERRY, Question of Moral Obligation; H. S. SHELTON, Spencerian Formula for Justice; W. S. URQUHART, Fascination of Pantheism; M. E. ROBINSON, The Sex Problem.

Irish Theological Quarterly, Dublin and New York, April: HUGH POPE, Oxyrrynchus Papyri and Pentateuchal Criticism; T. SLATER, Modern Sociology, II; J. MACRORY, Christian Writers of the First Three Centuries and St. Matthew 19: 9; P. J. TONER, Matter and Form of Original Sin; GARRETT PIERSE, Origin of the Doctrine of the Sacramental Character; M. J. O'DONNELL, Historical Basis of a Jansenist Error, II.

Journal of Theological Studies, London, April: G. MORIN, L'Origine

du Symbole d'Athanase; M. R. JAMES, New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter, II; E. BISHOP, Liturgical Comments and Memoranda, iv-vii; MARTIN RULE, 'Transformare' and 'Transformatio'; W. D. SARGEANT, The Lambeth Articles, II; C. F. ROGERS, How did the Jews Baptize?; G. MARGOLIOUTH, Two Zadokite Messiahs; H. M. BANNISTER, Fragments of an Anglo-Saxon Sacramentary; H. C. HOSKIER and F. C. BURKITT, Elzevir New Testament of 1624 and 1633, Euangelium Gatianum, and the Antioch Gothic-Latin Fragment; V. C. MACMUNN, The Menelaus Episode in the Syriac Acts of John.

London Quarterly Review, London, April: EDWARD WALKER, Christian Science and Disease; WILLIAM SPIERS, Dr. Wallace's 'World of Life'; H. MALDWYN HUGHES, Christian Experience and Historical Fact; SAMUEL E. KEEBLE, Literature and the Movement for Social Reform; W. M. HOLDSWORTH, Philosophic Basis of Caste; W. FIDDIAN MOULTON, An Interpretation of the French Revolution; ARTHUR T. BURBRIDGE, Personality and God; T. H. S. ESCOTT, Evangelical Foregleams in Seventeenth Century Verse; JOHN TELFORD, The Bible and the Bible Society.

Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, April: GEORGE W. PEPPER, A World Conference on Questions of Faith and Order; L. B. WOLF, The Edinburgh World Missionary Conference; J. M. HANTZ, Man's Relation to God; M. R. HAMSHER, Benefits and Solemnity of Confirmation; CHARLES W. SUPER, Individualism; T. F. DORNBLASER, Desirability and Possibility of a United Lutheran Church in America; L. H. LARIMER, Samuel Alfred Ort—A Memoir; A. G. VOIGHT, Relation of Genesis I to Following Chapters; C. ROLLIN SCHERCK, "Evolution up to Date"; THEO. B. STORK, Pragmatism; LEANDER S. KEYSER, Does Nature Make Progress?; J. A. SINGMASTER and A. R. WENTZ, Current Theological Thought.

Methodist Review, New York and Cincinnati, May-June: R. J. COOKE, Do We Need a Supreme Court?; OSCAR KUHN, Apologia Pro Professione Sua; A. W. STALKER, What Is Man?; L. H. HOUGH, The Lure of Books; ANDREW GILLIES, Fresh Water From an Old Well; GEORGE R. GROSE, Preacher as Teacher; DANIEL STEELE, Why I am not a Premillennialist; W. W. GUTH, Literary Style of Borden P. Bowne; A. W. LEONARD, Passing of the Sunday Evening Service; E. W. CANTWELL, The Christian Sermon; J. E. CHARLTON, Jews of Marlowe and Shakespeare. A Contrast.

Methodist Review Quarterly, Nashville, April: JOHN A. KERN, Influence of the Authorized Version on Language, Literature and Life of the Anglo-Saxon Race; G. W. DYER, Problem and Pathos of Our Illiterate Population; E. Y. MULLINS, The Modern Issue as to the Person of Christ; GEORGE HERBERT CLARKE, The Ring and the Book Expounded; J. W. SHACKFORD, Tendencies in Modern Thought Regarding the Atonement; S. PARKES CADMAN, Stonewall Jackson; J. RITCHIE SMITH, Training of the Ministry for the Times; W. P. KING, Ultimate Authority in Religion; T. J. SCOTT, "The Varieties of Religious Experience."

Modern Puritan, London, April: D. M. MCINTYRE, *The Christian Preacher*, II; A. H. DRYSDALE, *Puritanism and Art*; ADOLPHE MONOD, *Man Proposes, but God Disposes*, II; E. K. SIMPSON, *Prevalence and Purport of Human Sacrifices*; W. BURNET, *Elhanan: A Jewish Legend*.

Monist, Chicago, April: SVANTE ARRHENIUS, *Infinity of the Universe*; A. H. GODBEY, *Greek Influence in Ecclesiastes*; ARTHUR O. LOVEJOY, *Schopenhauer as an Evolutionist*; BERNHARD PICK, *Attack of Celsus on Christianity*; LUCIEN ARREAT, *On the Abuses of the Notion of the Unconscious*; *The Ideal and Life*, Schiller's Poem translated by Paul Carus; PAUL CARUS, *Finiteness of the World*; ALFRED H. LLOYD, *Games of Chance*.

Philosophical Review, Lancaster and New York, May: J. B. BAILLIE, *Moral and Legal Aspects of Labour*; B. H. BODE, *Realistic Conceptions of Consciousness*; W. H. SHELDON, *Ideals of Philosophic Thought*; ELIJAH JORDAN, *The Unknowable of Herbert Spencer*.

Reformed Church Review, Lancaster, April: ALVIN S. ZERBE, *Were the Early Old Testament Books Written in the Babylonian-Assyrian Language and Cuneiform Script?*; JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER, *Is Christ Divine? A Study of the Arian Crisis*; EDWARD S. BROMER, *Edwin Markham, the Poet of Democracy*; A. S. GLUCK, *The Reformed Church Year*; GEORGE W. RICHARDS, *The Declaration of Independence*; A. V. HEISTER, *Contemporary Sociology*; *Contemporary Religious and Theological Thought*.

Review and Expositor, Louisville, April: ROBERT J. DRUMMOND, *Sufficiency of the Gospel Ethic*; O. P. GIFFORD, *Christian Science*; PHILIP L. JONES, *Henry Drummond*; R. E. CHAMBERS, *Christianity in Awakened China*; T. P. STAFFORD, *Expository Preaching—A Criticism*; J. L. KESSLER, *The Preacher and Biology*; W. W. EVARTS, *The Apocrypha, a Source of Roman Catholic Error*.

Theological Quarterly, St. Louis, April: Walther the Lutheran; *Rise of Antichrist*; *Doctrine of Election according to Eph. 1: 3-14*; *Proof Texts of the Catechism with a Practical Commentary*.

Union Seminary Magazine, Richmond, April-May: ARTHUR G. JONES, *The Power is of God*; J. B. WARREN, *Evolution as it Stands Related to Christian Faith*; F. J. BROOKE, *Duty of Prayer for the Ministry*; W. D. REYNOLDS, *How We Translated the Bible into Korean*.

Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes, Paris, Avril: GIULIO BERTONI, *L'exorisme chrétien du musée de Zagabria*; ANDRÉ WILMART, *Un Anonyme ancien de decem Virginibus (fin)*; PIERRE DE LABRIOLLE, *"Mulieres in ecclesia taceant"*. Un aspect de la lutte antimontaniste, II.

Revue Bénédictine, Paris Avril: D. D. DE BRUYNE, *La finale marcionite de la lettre aux romains retrouvée*; D. A. WILMART, *Les versions latines des sentences d'Évagre pour les vierges*; D. G. MORIN, *Étude d'ensemble sur Arnobe le Jeune*; D. U. BERLIÈRE, *Lettres inédites de Bénédictines de St-Maur*.

Revue D'Histoire Ecclésiastique, Louvain, Avril: J. FLAMION, *Les*

Actes apocryphes de Pierre. B. Les Actes de Pierre en Orient (suite, à suivre); L. BRIL, Les premiers temps du christianisme en Suède. Etude critique des sources littéraires hambourgeoises (suite, à suivre); G. CONSTANT, La transformation du culte anglican sous Edouard VI. II. Tendances zwingliennes et calvinistes. Le second "Livre de la prière publique" (1552).—L'ordinal anglais de 1550-1552 et la validité des ordinations anglicanes (suite, à suivre); A. CAUCHIE, Le R. P. Charles De Smedt, président de la Société des Bollandistes.

Revue de Théologie et des Questions Religieuses, Montauban, Mars: ANDRÉ ARNAL, La Personne humaine dans les Evangiles (suite et fin); A. WABNITZ, Note supplémentaire sur le Paradis du Hadès; A. WABNITZ, Addition à la Note supplémentaire sur le Paradis du Hadès; CH. BRUSTON, La Version synodale de la Bible; J. E. NEEL, L'Eglise et l'Etat; CH. BRUSTON, Additions aux inscriptions en hébreu archaïque; L. PERRIER, La Cure d'âme moderne et ses bases religieuses et scientifiques.

Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques, Kain (Belgique), Avril: A. GARDEIL, La "Certitude Probable"; P. DONCŒUR, La Religion et les Maîtres de l'Averroïsme; ÉT. HUGUENY, La Rédemption; P. M. DEMUNYNCK, Notes sur les Jugements de Valeur; H.-D. NOBLE et M.-D. ROLAND-GOSSELIN, Bulletin de Philosophie; M. JACQUIN, Bulletin d'Histoire des Doctrines chrétiennes.

Theologische Studiën, Utrecht, XXIX Jaarg. Afl. III: W. J. AALDERS, De Duitsche Romantiek en het Roomsche-Catholicisme; G. WILDEBOER, Nog eens Lukas 1: 15b; Boekaankondigingen.

Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, Innsbrück, XXXV Band, 2 Heft: St. v. DUNIN-BORKOWSKI, Die alten Schriften und ihre religiöse Mitwelt; C. A. KNELLER, Romisch-katholisch beim hl. Cyprian; J. BIEDERLACK, Weiteres zur Frage von der sittlichen Erlaubtheit der Arbeiteraugstände; H. BRUDERS, Mt. 16: 19; 18: 18 und Jo. 20: 22-23 in frühchristlicher Auslegung. Afrika bis 258.

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